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CORRESPONDENCE  
OF  
THE EMPEROR CHARLES V.  
AND  
HIS AMBASSADORS AT THE COURTS OF  
ENGLAND AND FRANCE,  
FROM  
THE ORIGINAL LETTERS IN THE IMPERIAL FAMILY ARCHIVES  
AT VIENNA;  
WITH A CONNECTING NARRATIVE AND BIOGRAPHICAL  
NOTICES OF  
THE EMPEROR,  
AND OF SOME OF THE MOST DISTINGUISHED OFFICERS  
OF HIS ARMY AND HOUSEHOLD;  
TOGETHER WITH  
THE EMPEROR'S ITINERARY FROM 1519—1551,  
EDITED BY  
WILLIAM BRADFORD, M.A.  
FORMERLY CHAPLAIN TO THE BRITISH EMBASSY AT VIENNA.



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TO HIS HIGHNESS  
PRINCE METTERNICH,  
LATE CHANCELLOR OF STATE, &c., OF THE  
AUSTRIAN EMPIRE,  
KNIGHT OF THE GOLDEN FLEECE,  
&c. &c. &c.

THROUGH WHOSE FAVOUR I WAS ENABLED SEVERAL YEARS  
AGO TO OBTAIN COPIES OF THE LETTERS, WHICH GIVE THE  
CHIEF, IF NOT THE ONLY VALUE TO THE FOLLOWING  
PAGES; I VENTURE WITHOUT HAVING ASKED OR RECEIVED  
PERMISSION BUT WITH THE MOST SINCERE RESPECT AND  
DEFERENCE TO INSCRIBE THIS VOLUME.

W. B.



## P R E F A C E.

OF the original letters which have given occasion to this Volume, some portions were published, as will be noticed in the introductory chapter, in a miscellaneous German work of Baron Hormayr's at a time when the office of the Imperial family archives at Vienna was under his direction.

During a long residence in that capital several years ago, I sought permission to obtain entire and authenticated copies of such as had been thus made use of, only in fragmentary extracts ; a permission which was most liberally granted, and to an extent much greater than I had ventured to ask. Since my return home, as leisure and inclination prompted, translations of these letters have been made ; but, as may be imagined from the long time which has been suffered to elapse, they did not occupy much of my attention. In fact I thought but little of them as a matter of any general interest, until an opportunity offered of laying a portion of them before a high authority at the British Museum, who pronounced them to be wholly unknown in this country and possessing so much historical value as fully to warrant their publication.

Influenced by this opinion and somewhat stimulated by the late stirring circumstances of the Continent, and of that part of it where the scene of the transactions chiefly referred to, is laid, I have overcome the hesitation I felt, from considerations of the limited nature of the correspondence, both as to time and circumstances, in presenting so imperfect a work to the British public; and I am now encouraged to hope that a collection such as it is, which interested me much individually at the time of making it, may not prove an unacceptable offering.

As the letters are not in any continued series, so as sufficiently to declare their own story and connection, some occasionally interwoven narrative is introduced respecting facts and personages, which to some readers may be superfluous, but to others perhaps, no unsatisfactory accompaniment.

The Itinerary of Charles the Fifth, kept by his Flemish Secretary Vandernesse, which, as far as I can learn, has never appeared in print, (otherwise than in a German translation and in detached portions in the miscellaneous publication of Hormayr, already alluded to,) is a document of too much historical importance to need any excuse for its insertion.

The same plea cannot be advanced for that which in order follows the correspondence, “characteristic sketches of Charles the Fifth and of some of his distinguished contemporaries.”

It is not attempted in these brief notices to produce matter altogether new in illustration of characters, which

Robertson and other eminent writers have made already familiar to the English reader. They are nevertheless meant to contain some particulars, not so well known as others on record, derived from the same authentic sources as the foregoing letters, and a few throwing light on certain points, enough perhaps to justify what might otherwise be deemed an unnecessary repetition.

The concluding details concerning the Emperor, his army and household are furnished from an unpublished relation of a Venetian Ambassador contained amongst the Italian MSS. formerly belonging to the Abbate Canonici of Venice, now in the possession of the Rev. Walter Sneyd of Denton, Oxon, who kindly permitted me to make use of whatever I found in them suitable to the present publication. This collection is a rich mine of valuable matter illustrative of the history of the 16th and 17th centuries, which I had an opportunity of looking into a little while only before this volume was sent to the press.

As far as my own work is here concerned, it is one of very small pretension. For the most part it consists in translation and compilation.

W. BRADFORD.

Rectory, Storrington,

June, 1850.

Rev H H Hamilton  
from the Editor July 1<sup>st</sup> 1850

Portrait of Charles V. . . . .	to face Title-page.
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Portrait of the Duke of Alva . . . .	409.

## INTRODUCTORY.

THE great events which distinguished the sixteenth century, and more especially the earlier part of it, are such in their circumstances and consequences as to have engaged in no ordinary degree the interest and attention of each succeeding age, even to the present. A grand moral and intellectual movement had then commenced, in which the whole of Christendom was concerned; and from the peculiar character of the times, and the extraordinary personages which they produced, nothing seemed wanting to its progressive developement. Never perhaps was a period so fertile in men of renown, men illustrious in their several stations, as sovereigns, statesmen, warriors, men of learning and piety eminently suited to the purposes, which in the divine order of things they were meant to serve. To these, however apparently opposed, the passions of those concerned, as well as their best energies were made instrumental, a result not difficult to be traced in the various conflicts which occurred during the advance of the Reformation, in the wars of the Emperor Charles the Fifth with the French king, in the selfish

policy of Henry the Eighth,\* and the ambition of his powerful minister Wolsey.

In addition to the interest which subjects of this nature cannot fail to excite, it is no small satisfaction to be convinced, that the age referred to, as it was the most important, so it was the first also in modern history, when the facts and transactions belonging to it, as well as individual character and motives, were, from the more general diffusion of every kind of knowledge, more clearly ascertained and authenticated. Of this advantage the historians and biographers of those times were not negligent; witness those on the Continent who were contemporaries with the circumstances they relate, such as Guicciardini, Bellay, Sandoval, Ulloa, Sepulveda, Sleidan and Paulus Jovius; and besides the public acts and records of our own country, private letters and memoirs have supplied a host of authorities, on which we do, and may safely, ground our belief. In the several remarkable transactions therefore of this age, thus brought clearly before us, as well as the great actors who figured in the drama then commenced, and scarcely yet conducted to its conclusion, no wonder that we feel a peculiar interest and satisfaction. And though much is told, and believed, and treasured in the memory, yet from the very nature of things, the mind is not thereby fully

\* “ If Henry the Eighth had any private sinister grounds,” observes Bramhall, “ they do not render the Reformation one jot the worse in itself, but only prove that *he* proceeded not uprightly, which concerneth *him*, not *us*.”

satiated. As our understanding becomes informed, our curiosity is more and more piqued, and we are not unwilling to look back to, and to scrutinize those sources of intelligence from which supplies may have been already drawn, seeking to pick up a little from that field, whose harvest has been carried away, but which still yields something to reward the industrious gleaner. Hence the writers before named, though many of them sealed books to the ordinary reader, are often diligently examined by the antiquary; and where a trait, or circumstance, or motive can be elicited, which had escaped the historian, or was unsuited to the gravity of his general subject, it is felt to be not without its value, if fairly adduced in detecting some received error, or illustrating some hitherto doubtful fact. But much ground in this path is hitherto untrodden. Much matter of interest and curiosity contained in public and private letters reflecting light on many an obscure point of our own history, notwithstanding the active research of Ellis, Tytler, Sharon Turner, Halliwell and others, still, it may be presumed, lies buried amidst the dust and confusion to which these documents have been consigned. The attention of the English public has, however, of late years been a good deal directed to these long-neglected mines of hidden truth, by those able and successful enquirers, who have made it their business to explore them.

An impulse of this nature was given in Germany several years ago by Baron Hormayr, the well known author of the Austrian *Plutarch*, a writer of great

powers of memory, and vast historical information, who whilst Director of the Family Archives at Vienna contributed largely to a periodical work, entitled "*Archiv für Geographie, Historie, Staats und Kriegskunst*," and gave the highest interest to its pages by the insertion of letters, or rather extracts of letters from Charles the Fifth, and his Ministers. The form in which they were then published, and the various matter with which they were accompanied in such a miscellaneous work, rendered it unfavourable for an extensive, at least for a foreign circulation. These letters and extracts were translated into German, from the French, Latin or Spanish originals, and it is believed no part of them has been otherwise submitted to the public.

A sense of their great curiosity and importance led the Editor of these pages during a long residence in Vienna, when Chaplain to the British Embassy, to obtain an access to the original documents; and a facility for so doing was not only most graciously accorded by the Chancellor of State Prince Metternich, but the still greater favor was conferred of allowing copies to be made for him, when desired, of all the letters which had in part or wholly appeared in Baron Hormayr's work. This most liberal permission was not disregarded; and hence a collection was obtained, and is now in the Editor's possession, from which the following pages have been in great measure prepared.

The authenticity of these letters will therefore bear every test of enquiry; and it is hoped there will be found no infidelity, and no great inaccuracy in the

translation. In this it has not been attempted to render in our own language the antiquated phraseology of the originals. It would have been a difficult undertaking ; and had it been tolerably successful, it would have savoured of affectation rather than of truth.

It might perhaps be expected that the entire correspondence should appear in the language in which it was written, along with its English version. This has been the practice in many similar publications ; but it has been deemed adviseable not unnecessarily to increase the bulk of this volume. A middle course has therefore been adopted. Original passages will be found occasionally added on the lower margin of the page, as well as whole letters thus inserted, when of more than ordinary interest. Such, it is hoped, may enable the reader to keep in view and realise the ideas meant to be conveyed, as well as to form some judgment of the fidelity or inaccuracy of the translation. Although the work of Baron Hormayr, in leading to the acquisition of these letters, has given rise to the present publication, it is not to be supposed that his plan and method of producing them is here meant to be followed.

The Editor fully acknowledges his obligations to this industrious author, in having brought certain extracts to bear with great force and truth on points which they were intended to illustrate ; but so much further matter of interest and curiosity is contained in these authentic documents of history, that he is here led to introduce them almost entire. This has been

done without any curtailment with regard to those letters written by the Emperor's ambassadors in England, giving a very detailed account of conferences with the King (Henry the Eighth) and Wolsey in which the characteristic arrogance and high business-like powers of the minister as well as the waywardness and shrewdness of his "hard ruled master" are strikingly pourtrayed.

It is to be regretted that in this Correspondence, there is but very little which refers directly and immediately to the great event of that age, the commencement of the Reformation. This most important of subjects is only incidentally referred to, either because the family archives at Vienna afford nothing new relating to it, to inform or gratify the public, or that it did not fall within the Director's plan, in a popular and miscellaneous work, to bring prominently forward a matter of such grave and copious bearing.

It has been the principal object of the Editor, throughout the following Correspondence, to submit it to the English reader in as faithful a translation as he could render, not always a very easy task from the obsolete turn of expression, the occasional bad spelling, and often otherwise incorrect orthography of the French originals, common to that age. He has not sought to make these letters a vehicle for his own speculations, further than by sometimes pointing out their agreement or otherwise with correspondent and generally received facts and opinions, and occasionally offering a clue to assist the reader in forming his own conclusions.

When a new transaction is to be introduced, and the attention is turned from one subject to another, a few connecting points will be noticed, in order to give a little continuity of narrative. And as this Work is not offered exclusively to the attention of the historian or the antiquary, the Editor hopes to be excused in not taking it for granted, that every individual who may cast an eye over these pages, must necessarily be perfectly acquainted with all the circumstances of the times, and all the personages to which they refer. On this account it will not be superfluous before entering upon the letters themselves, to take a slight glance at the leading events of the period, and at the relative position in which the principal states and potentates of Europe stood towards each other, when the earliest portion of them were written.

NOTICES  
OF  
THE STATES OF EUROPE  
AT  
THE BEGINNING OF THE REIGN OF CHARLES THE  
FIFTH.

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CHARLES THE FIFTH was born on the 24th of February, 1500. On the death of his father, Philip, in 1506, he inherited the rich domains of the house of Burgundy in the Netherlands and Franche Comté, in right of his Grandmother, Mary, daughter of Charles the bold. Through his mother, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, he succeeded to the united crowns of Arragon and Castile, forming the kingdom of Spain, as well as to those of Naples and Sicily ; and on the death of his grandfather, Maximilian the first, he was elected Emperor on the 28th of June, 1519.

Henry the Eighth and Francis the First were competitors with Charles for the Imperial crown ; but Henry finding his pretensions weakly supported, soon abandoned the contest to the Kings of France and Spain. A rivalry thus commencing, led to the most disastrous consequences, and to a hostility which ended only with their lives. The sources of discord between them were

many and various. In Italy, the French king had some claim to the crown of Naples, of which his predecessor had been unfairly deprived by Ferdinand of Arragon. On the other hand, Charles might demand the Dutchy of Milan, as a fief of the Empire, which Francis had seized and held possession of, without investiture from the Emperor. Charles again viewed with a jealous eye the Dutchy of Burgundy, wrested from his ancestors by the unjust policy of Louis the eleventh, and now become an appendage to the crown of France. In Navarre too, a more pressing cause of difference had fallen out, by the exclusion of the young king John D'Albret, to whose claims, Charles even in breach of treaty had refused to do justice, and whom Francis both from motives of interest and honor was bound to restore to his throne. This latter circumstance soon occasioned a rupture between these sovereigns, and a war, in which the other great powers of Europe were speedily involved. Leo the tenth dreading its effects in Italy, and foreseeing that the Milanese would probably become the great field of operations, endeavoured to maintain neutrality, but at length sided with the Emperor, from whom he had more to hope and to fear than from Francis. On similar motives the Venetians espoused the part of France. The alliance however to which the rival monarchs looked with the greatest anxiety was England, and each courted Henry with the utmost assiduity. From his personal character, his credit as being the richest prince in Christendom, and his commanding position with regard to a conti-

mental war in being master of Calais, the key to France and to the Netherlands, Henry was supposed to hold the balance in his hands, a circumstance which he was not backward to appreciate, and which led him to boast, that whichever side he favored, must prevail.

The year before Charles's election to the empire, Francis had spared no pains, not only to secure the friendship of Henry, but to gain over Wolsey to his interest; having sent Bonnivet, Admiral of France, a favorite and accomplished courtier, on a special mission to England, who by flattery, presents, and promises had laboured to work on the haughty prelate.

The meeting of the Cloth of Gold appointed for the summer of 1520, caused much alarm and jealousy to Charles, then become Emperor, who dreaded its probable effects in cementing the good understanding which had led to this friendly rencontre, from a similarity of character and pursuits in the two youthful and high spirited sovereigns. As the interview could not be prevented, Charles was determined to forestall Francis in the advantage of a first impression. This he effected by an act the most flattering which could be devised. Whilst the courts of France and England were vying in their preparations for the gorgeous festival which was at hand, the Emperor, almost unattended, sailed from Coruña, and arrived in England, wholly relying on Henry's generosity for his safety. Wolsey, who is supposed to have known, if not to have counselled this undertaking, was immediately dispatched by the King, then at Canterbury on his way to France,

to meet the Emperor at Dover. Thither the King immediately followed, to receive his illustrious and confiding guest. This visit, so complimentary to Henry's better feelings, and so gratifying to his vanity, had, it may be presumed, its desired effect. Although only of four days' continuance, Charles so well employed the opportunity, as deeply to prejudice Henry in his favor, and to detach Wolsey from his French connections. Soon after the Emperor's departure for the Netherlands, Wolsey had another interview with him at Gravelines, which paved the way for that more complete devotion to his cause, which soon became manifest.

In the following year, 1521, hostilities having commenced between Charles and Francis, Henry's mediation was proposed, and accepted unwillingly by the French king, who had good reason to dread the artifices and ill will of Wolsey. A congress was accordingly held at Calais, which was followed by a conference at Bruges, when instead of advancing a treaty of peace, the Cardinal, acting in his master's name, concluded a league with the Emperor against France, to which the Pope, after some wavering, had previously become a party. Great and successful efforts were now made by the confederates to drive the French from their possessions in Italy. Lautrec the French general, after the defection of twelve thousand Swiss troops, was compelled to abandon the Milanese with the loss of its capital and principal cities, and to retire towards the Venetian territories with the wreck of his army. Of their former conquests in Lombardy, the town of Cre-

mona, the castle of Milan and a few inconsiderable forts, were all that remained to the French after these disasters. Such was the relative position of the sovereigns of Europe towards the conclusion of the year 1521 ; when, amidst the rejoicings at Rome for the brilliant result of the campaign and the acquisition of Parma and Placentia to the ecclesiastical states, Pope Leo the tenth died after a few days illness, on the first of December in the forty-sixth year of his age.

By this unexpected event, the operations of the confederacy were wholly suspended. The rival potentates now anxiously turned their attention to the proceedings of the conclave ; and the Cardinal of York who had been paving the way for his own election on such a contingency, now looked forward like the ambitious Balaam to his “promotion unto ‘that’ great honor,” in which his whole soul had been engaged.

The letters immediately following will throw an additional and perhaps novel light, on some of the transactions relating to this subject, and will certainly make it appear that the disappointment of Wolsey’s hopes is not to be attributed to any duplicity on the part of the Emperor, or to any want of exertions in his favor.

LETTERS OF THE EMPEROR AND HIS MINISTERS  
RELATIVE TO THE PAPAL ELECTION AFTER THE  
DEATH OF LEO THE TENTH.

The first letter in this series is the announcement of an ambassador from Charles the Fifth to Henry the

Eighth, and is introduced merely as a matter of curiosity to shew the form and fashion of address which the sovereigns of those days were pleased to hold in their correspondence, when in high good humour with each other.

MINUTE OF A LETTER FROM THE EMPEROR TO HENRY  
THE EIGHTH OF ENGLAND.

“ Most beloved, most excellent and most puissant Prince, our most dear brother, cousin, and fair uncle !

“ We commend ourselves to you with all possible cordiality, that our affairs may be made known to you, and their prosperous or adverse issue, as is becoming and suitable to the true and indissoluble alliance and union which subsist between us, so firm and stable that the good of the one, is the good of the other.

“ To this intent therefore we write at present to the reverend father in God our dear and faithful counsellor and ambassador the Bishop of Badajoz and Elna, who will make all known to you on our part, which you may desire to know, most high, most excellent, and most puissant prince our very dear brother, cousin and fair uncle, one whom you may trust as ourself, and who will contribute to our singular pleasure in being able to communicate good news of you. We pray God to have you in his holy keeping.

Written in our city of Ghent 16th December, 1521.”

Before this letter to the King, and one of the same date from Charles to his ambassador (the Bishop of

Badajoz) had reached London, the following had been dispatched to the emperor, by the ambassador.

BERNARD DE MEZZA AMBASSADOR IN LONDON  
BISHOP OF BADAJOZ AND PERPIGNAN, TO THE  
EMPEROR.

Dated 19th December, 1521. (From Latin original.)

“ Most sacred, Imperial and Catholic Majesty !

On the 16th of this month after dinner at Richmond, where the King and the Cardinal were, the latter informed me, that he had received letters from the French King, which he shewed me, and the contents of which I will presently communicate to your Majesty : and further, that he had heard from the ambassador of the said King, that the death of the Pope was fully confirmed, and that the Cardinal of Medicis was at Rome, that your Majesty’s and the papal armies were disbanded, and that the affairs of the French in Italy were returning into their former train. These things the Ambassador writes from the mouth of the King himself. At this news the king of England is disturbed and alarmed. Two things according to his judgment ought immediately to be attended to, and provided ; first, that the kingdom of Naples should hence receive no injury, a matter to be strictly looked to by your Majesty’s generals ; and secondly, that especial care be taken in the ensuing election to the Popedom, in order to the bringing forward a person devoted to the interests of both your

Majesties, and in whom both may repose a mutual and absolute confidence. And for these purposes, it seemed most expedient to the King and Cardinal that your Majesty's army in Italy should be kept up in its complete efficiency, as well for the peace of the aforementioned kingdom, as for maintaining security in the forthcoming election. With regard to the person to be elected to this dignity, the said King of England expresses his most decided and very earnest desire, that it should be the most reverend the Cardinal of York ; and is anxious beyond what I can express, that your Majesty should concur in this ; and in order that nothing may be omitted which on his part might lead to its success, he has determined to send an envoy to Rome, with letters persuasive and commendatory to the Cardinals, in favor of the said Cardinal of York, written after the form and purport of which I am about to speak.\* But since the King of England, as he most strenuously affirms, has no intention to do or to attempt anything but in perfect concert and understanding with your Majesty, and since there is but one mind, and one interest between you ; he proposes sending the said envoy, not direct to Rome, but to your Majesty, in order that his instructions being submitted to your Majesty in person, (he being heard

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\* “ Tamen cum jam rex Angliæ, ut constantissimé affirmat non intendat aliquid facere aut temptare, nisi de scitu et consilio Majestatis vestræ, cum ambarum Majestatum sit una fortuna, et unus animus ; noluit dictum hominem mittere Romæ, sed ad Majestatem vestram cum suis instructionibus, quibus visis et auditio dicto oratore

in explanation of them) may be approved or altered according to your Majesty's pleasure, which he will have strict orders to comply with, in every particular. Besides in a negociation so delicate, where inconvenience might arise, unless conducted with the utmost caution, and particularly when the chances in favor of the said Cardinal of York may turn out less probable than is hoped; it is thought expedient to provide against such a contingency, by taking good care that the Cardinal of Medicis, his most powerful opponent, should not be offended. In order therefore to secure his friendship, measures are to be so arranged, as to shew that your Majesties in all your proceedings are doing nothing to his prejudice, but even all for his advantage; unless it should appear that his chance was small, and then that every possible effort should be made openly for the most reverend the Cardinal of York.

" It is with this design that the King of England

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suo qui declarabit Majestati vestræ animum suum circa singula possit Majestas vestra deliberare quid dictus orator suus est facturus qui per omnia servabit ordinem sibi datam per Majestatem vestram. Præterea quia ex dicta negociatione possent sequi multa inconvenientia nisi cum magna cautela tractaretur, et potissimum si non esset apparens possibilitas quod electio dicti Cardinalis Eboracensis sortiretur effectam, visum est providere pro tali casu taliter quod ad minus si supradictus non deberet eligi, eligatur Cardinalis de Medicis ne perdatur ille amicus, nec sentiat dictus Cardinalis de Medicis, quod aliquid faciunt Majestates vestræ in prejudicium electionis suæ ymo quod omnia fiunt in favorem suam nisi in casu quod dictus de Medicis nullam haberet spem neque copiam votorum pro se, tunc aperte esset agendum pro dicto reverendissimo Cardinali Eboracensi; et ad istum

writes two letters to the Cardinals, one in favor of the Cardinal of York, and the other in favor of the Cardinal of Medicis, and suggests, that your Majesty, if it so please you, should do the like, and that his Envoy associated with your Majesty's Ambassador at Rome (the Sieur John Manuel) should make use of the said letters according to circumstances, and say and do whatever else your Majesty may judge more convenient.

"Moreover, since the Envoy to be charged with this commission may not be able to accomplish the object here referred to, either because your Majesty might direct otherwise, or other impediments might occur; his most serene Majesty of England has selected a person duly qualified to serve and negotiate many other of your common interests in those parts, for which his presence may be requisite. The person named is Richard Pace\* first Secretary of the King, and an ap-

propositum dictus serenissimus Rex Angliæ scribit binas litteras Cardinalibus, unas in favorem dicti Eboracensis, alias in favorem dicti de Medicis, quarum similes debebat scribere Majestas vestra si videbitur sic expedire, supradictus verò orator utatur dictis literis sicuti fuerit etiam visum Majestati vestræ, conjungetque se dictus orator cum Domino Johanne Manuel, facietque et dicet simul cum eo quæ videbuntur Majestati vestræ melius convenire, &c. &c."

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\* "Polydore Vergil says of this same Richard Pace 'musicus et facetus incredibiliter animum regis delectabat.' Wolsey saw the fascination, and despatched him on a foreign Embassy!" Ellis's Original Letters.

proved servant of your Majesty, whom the King sends in full assurance of his zeal and fidelity, ‘as if he had sent his very heart,’ to use his own expression, shewing indeed in this how much he is interested in the result of the election.\*

“ But to return to the Cardinal and to what he feels, or what he says regarding the election of the future Pope. He has declared in my presence with the most solemn oaths and protestations to the King his master, that nothing could induce him to seek or accept of this dignity, unless your Majesty and his King deemed it conducive to the security and glory of both your Majesties ; and should this indeed be your mutual opinion, there was no labour he would refuse, in order to merit your confidence, assuring you that the chief benefit and emolument he could look to in such an advancement, was the exaltation of your Majesties. All this was fully responded to by the King, who gave his royal word, that such was his conviction ; and further, that both himself and your Majesty might so direct and dispose of his (the Cardinal’s) power and authority, as if the Holy See were in their own possessions, and thus give ease to the world.

\* In the intervening part here omitted, which relates to the affairs of the Swiss and the Venetians, Pace, who, with some view to these also, was selected as an able negotiator, is further spoken of as enjoying the highest credit with the King, and one most likely to succeed the Cardinal in his favor and counsels, should the occasion occur. He is also described as devoted to the Emperor (*totus Cæsius*) in the Latin original.

It was on these grounds, added the King, that he implored your Majesty to lend a helping hand. Should this however fail, it was strongly urged, that such care and diligence should be exercised in the election, as to secure a person devoted to both your interests ; and to employ such caution and dexterity, that he who gained it, should at least suppose his success obtained only through the concurrent interest and support of both your Majesties.

“ In fine, Sire, for the relief of my own mind, I will venture to express an opinion which I have formed. On the one side, it does not appear to me that the Cardinal entertains any very sanguine hopes of success, though he is very far from despairing of it ; on the other, it is nevertheless obvious, that something may be gained in this affair. The Cardinal will not fail to perceive in the management of it, what the disposition of your Majesty towards his pretensions really is, and what trust is to be placed in your Majesty's promises conveyed to him last year, through the Sieur de la Roche and myself, which he at that time refused, but which he did not now forget to remind me of.

“ I would suggest, therefore, that although your Majesty's exertions in the present instance may be unattended with much prospect of success, they should nevertheless be carried on with such zeal and lively interest, as to shew yourself in earnest, and prepared to urge them to perhaps better effect on a future vacancy.

“ I make this observation, Sire, not from the *supposed*

result, which such a demonstration would produce upon the good offices of the Cardinal toward the King his master, but from what I have actually seen and witnessed ; for example at present, the Cardinal seizes every occasion of confirming the King's affection towards your Majesty, and exasperating him against the French. They deal, he tells him, in nothing but professions and lies ; and just now, a case has occurred of several French ships being detained, on a pretence of some violence being committed, or on account of the Duke of Albany's being now on his passage to Scotland, or in short for some frivolous reason, which would not at other times be noticed.

“ Hence, Sire, I cannot but recommend to your Majesty, that whether the election be gained or lost by the said Cardinal, this affair be treated with such dexterity, that he should not be lost to your service ; and that such measures be taken, that the aforementioned Pace in his despatches home, may be able to speak of your Majesty's good will and exertions.

From London the 19th day of December, 1521,  
of your most sacred Imperial and Catholic Majesty  
the most humble Servant and subject,

THE BISHOP OF BADAJOZ AND PERPIGNAN.”\*

The following letter from Charles to his Ambassador was written three days before the preceding one, and had not reached its destination when the above was despatched. The sentiments it expresses, with regard

\* Pacensis ac Helnensis Episcopus (Latin original).

to Wolsey's elevation, are sufficiently in accordance with the views and wishes of the King and Cardinal, to anticipate a favourable reception of the combined movement proposed in favor of Wolsey, as well as a full concurrence in that dextrous manœuvre of diplomacy, which was to secure the good will of either Cardinal (York, or de Medicis) who might happen to prove the successful candidate.

FROM THE EMPEROR TO BERNARD DE MEZZA,  
BISHOP OF BADAJOZ.

14th December, 1521.

“Reverend father in God, dear and loyal !

On our arrival in this our city of Ghent in the evening, after our return from hunting, we received your letters of the 12 of this month, containing matter of much satisfaction, to which we are not able to make an immediate reply ; but we hasten, this post, expressly to transmit to you letters to our good uncle the King, and to Monseigneur the legate. I send also your cre-

MINUTE DE LA LETTRE DE L'EMPEREUR A SES AM-  
BASSADEURS EN ANGLETERRE.

Ecrite à Gand le 14 Xbre, 1521.

“Reverend Pere en Dieu cher et féal !

A notre arryvé en ceste notre ville de Gand, que a esté à ce soir, retournant de la Chasse, nous avons veu vos Lettres du XII<sup>e</sup>. de ce mois, contenantes beaucoup de bonnes choses, ausquelles ne vous povons promptement fere responce, mais depechons ceste poste tout exprès pour vous envoyer Lettres au Roy notre bon Oncle et à Monseigneur

dentials, and desire you to announce on our part to the aforesaid, the decease of our holy father the Pope, as was yesterday made known to you by our Grand Chancellor. In doing of which, I entirely rely on your skill and address, being particularly desirous that they should understand, that we lost no time in acquainting them with this event; and that what our said Chancellor did in this behalf, was done only in consequence of our absence.

“ We wish you further to inform Monseigneur the Legate on our part, that we have never failed to have his advancement and elevation in view; and that we most willingly hold to the promise made to him at Bruges, respecting the papal dignity; requiring only to know his own wishes, and the measures he would advise, in order to use in this affair, and in every other which concerns his interest, all the power and influence without any reserve, which we can command.

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le Legat, qui contiennent credence sur vous, par laquelle les advertirez de notre part du Trespas de notre Sainct Pere le Pape, selon ce que hier vous fut escript par notre grand Chancelier et que par votre bonne dexterité scaurez bien fere, afin qu'ils cognoissent que de notre costé le lui vouloir bien escrire, et ce que en a esté fait par notre dit Chancelier, a esté pour notre dite absence. D'autre part vous direz de par nous à Monseigneur le Legat, comme nous avons toujours en notre bonne souvenance son avancement et exaltation, et le tenons racors de propos, que luy avons tenuz à Bruges touchant la Papalité, ensuivant lesquels et pour l'effect de ce, sommes deliberez l'ayder de notre pouvoir, tant en cestuy affaire que aultres, que luy pourroient toucher, parquoy le requerez qu'il vueille dire son avis, s'il y a quelque affection, et nous y employerons très volontier sans

“ And although we are of opinion that this election is not likely speedily to be brought to issue, and that the Cardinal of York stands well already ; we are nevertheless desirous of approaching nearer to Italy than we now are, to give the most effectual proof of our cordial affection ; and in our earnest desire to do for him more than for any other person, we may thus apply ourselves the more readily to the accomplishment of his wishes.

“ It is our further pleasure that you should use your best diligence in acquainting us with the views which the Sieur Legate may himself entertain, to whom you will not fail with your accustomed prudence and dexterity fully to make known these our sentiments, that we may secure his good will, nothing doubting but that the king of France will make him all sorts of fair offers, fruitless, as it is well known, they are likely to be.

“ We write also to our Ambassador at Rome, Don

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y riens espargner, combien que faisons doublet que la chose sera tardive, et qu'il en soit desja bien avant allé et neant moins nous vouldrions bien estre plus près d'Italye que ne sommes, et nous luy demonstrierions effectuellement que vouldrions fere pour luy, plutot que pour nul autre et n'actendrions à luy, en demander son avis pour la bonne et grande amour et cordiale affection que nous luy pourtons.

“ Nous desirons que à diligence nous advertissez sur ce, de l'avis du dit Seigneur Legat auquel vous remonstrerez toutes ces choses de bonne sorte, comme bien scaurez fere par votre dexterité et prudence afin d'en gaigner sa bien vuellance, car nous ne faisons doublet que le Roy de France luy fera tout plain de belle ouffert de son cousté, combien qu'il est tout notoir que en jcelle ne pourroient porter grand fruct n'y ne luy scauroient ayder.

“ Nous escripvons aussi à notre Ambassadeur Don Jehan Manuel

John Manuel, that, if it should so fall out that the election of a new Pope should have been so hastened as already to have taken place, he should take occasion to represent how necessary it would be for the good of Christendom, that his Holiness should send deputies into Switzerland there to meet those which we also send : and if the said election has been retarded, we have given instructions that this matter should be urged through the College of Cardinals.

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à Rome, que si d'aventure l'élection du Pape futur estoit si hastée qu'elle fust tantost faite, et en cas il treuve main pour le bien de la Chretienneté que le dit futur Pape ordonne ses députez pour estre à la ditte journée de Suysse, et si l'élection se retardoit que en ce cas soit dressé ce que dessus par le moyen du Collège des Cardinaulx.

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\* The parts here omitted relate to a negociation just set on foot by the Emperor, for a levy of Swiss troops to reinforce the army of the Confederacy. In letting out their troops for hire, it was a rule of the Swiss republic to prohibit their engagement in any war, in the service of *both* contending parties. This law no less politic than humane, had, it seems, been eluded or connived at in the late campaign. Twelve thousand Swiss had joined the army of Lautrec at its commencement, and by the address of the Cardinal of Sion a warm partisan of the Emperor, twelve thousand were engaged also on the side of the Confederacy. A clamour against this proceeding occasioned the Swiss states to order the withdrawal of both ; but by the artifice of the above named Cardinal, the order was communicated only to those in the service of France. Hence the defection of that large body from Lautrec, and its calamitous result.

On the death of Leo the tenth, the Swiss in the service of the Confederacy had been recalled ; and Charles was now anxious in con-

"We further require and command that you employ all your wonted care and diligence in all the aforesaid particulars, and apprise us as quickly as possible, of the resolutions which the aforesaid King my uncle, and Monseigneur the Legate may take in each and all of them.

"Our very dear and beloved brother \* the Archduke is just arrived to visit us in our city of Ghent, which gives us the greatest pleasure. We are making all necessary arrangements to prepare for our speedy departure into Spain.

"With regard to your letters of the 12th, above mentioned, you will receive our answer at large within a couple of days.

Given at our said city of Ghent  
the 16 day of December, 1521."

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"Si vous requerons et neantmoins ordonnons de sur toutes les choses susdites fere bonne dilligence que auez acoustumés et au plutot que pourrez nous advertisser de la resolution, que le dit Seigneur Roy notre oncle, et monseigneur le Legat aurons prins sur le tout.

"Notre très cher et très Amé frere l'Archiduc est arrivé vers nous en ceste notre ville de Gand, de quoy sommes très joyeux, et sommes venus icy pour mectre ordre en nos affaires et principalement pour haster notre allée d'Espagne; quant à la response à vos dittes Lettres du 12<sup>e</sup> dessus mentionnée vous y fereis ample response dedans deux jours. Donné en notre ditte Ville de Gand le XVI<sup>e</sup>. jour de Decembre, XV<sup>e</sup>. XXI."

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cert with Henry and the new Pope to anticipate the King of France, in immediately engaging a body of these important auxiliaries.

\* Ferdinand, afterwards King of Bohemia, &c. and Emperor.

## EXTRACT FROM MEZZA'S DESPATCH.

Dated 24th December, in reply to the foregoing.

"I obeyed in every particular your Majesty's commands of the 16th instant. The Cardinal listened to me with the greatest attention, and accepted with evident joy the offers made to him. They called forth such expressions of humble and reiterated thanks, as though they had already secured for him the papal dignity. He afterwards spoke in a manner, which did not a little astonish me, and however strange they may appear, I must acquaint your Majesty with his words. "Nothing would more contribute," he said, "towards determining the result of the election in my favor than the march of the Imperial troops now in Italy towards Rome: and in case neither presents nor good words have their effect on the College of Cardinals, they should be compelled by main force to the choice which his Majesty approves;\*" so that in no case they be suffered to elect a dependant on the French; the result of which would be the destruction of Naples and Sicily, involving that of all Christendom: this would be avoided by my election." He added that he was quite ready for the object in view to expend one hundred thousand

\* Burnet represents the Emperor as complaining that Wolsey had urged him to employ his army in Italy to enforce his election to the Papedom. This charge Burnet deems much aggravated, as it cannot be supposed, he thinks, that either the King or Wolsey "could desire so barefaced a thing as the Emperor here fastened upon them." Hist. of the Reform. vol. 5 p. 57.

ducats. He intimated that the King of France counted upon commanding twenty-two voices among the Cardinals; and I see clearly that the King offered them to him: but the Cardinal relies exclusively on your Majesty."

The following are answers to the letters sent by the King and Cardinal, and conveyed to the Emperor by Pace, who immediately set off on his mission, as had been announced by Mezza.

FROM CHARLES THE FIFTH TO THE KING OF  
ENGLAND.

Dated Ghent, the 27th of December, 1521.

" My good uncle, brother and father ! I most heartily recommend myself to you, having received the letters by your first Secretary Pace, which you wrote with your own hand, and having learned from them, as well as by relation at length from your aforesaid Secretary, all your thoughts and desires touching the election of the

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MINUTE DE LA LETTRE DE L'EMPEREUR AU ROI  
D'ANGLETERRE.

Ecrite à Gand, le 27 Xbre, 1521.

" Mon bon Oncle, Frere et Pere.

A vous de très bon cuer me recommande, ayant par votre premier Secretaire Paceo receu les lectres que m'avez nouvellement escriptes de votre main, et tant par icelles que par relation de votre dit Secretaire entendu bien au long votre pensement et desir touchant l'election du nouveau Pape, ay trouvé vraye conformité et corres-

new Pope, which bear the most perfect conformity with all I have hitherto myself thought and wished, respecting the person of my especial friend Monseigneur the Cardinal of York ; of which sentiments he could not fail to be assured by the letters, which I immediately wrote, on receiving the news of the death of our late holy father. For, certes, the prudence, learning, integrity, experience, as well as other virtues and accomplishments, for which he is distinguished, render him eminently worthy of such a dignity.

" I have, therefore, in coming to the knowledge of your intentions and his, hastened letters in the best form I could devise, for the promotion of the said Seigneur Cardinal to the said holy see, as will appear by the copies of my letters given to the said Pace, along with the originals ; insomuch, that you yourself as well as the said Seigneur Cardinal may rest perfectly assured of my most earnest co-operation, and that there

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pondence à ce que par avant avoye pensé de la personne de mon especial amy Monseigneur le Cardinal de Yorck, celon que luy mesme aura peu cogneistre par les Lectres que je vous escripviz sur ce incontinent que jeuz les nouvelles du trespas, car certes la prudence, Doctrine, integrité, experiance et aultres vertuz et bonnes meurs que sont en luy, le rendent meritemment digne de tenir tel Siege, parquoy incontinent que ay sceu votre intencion et la Sienne, ay despeché sur ce mes lectres pertinentes en la meilleure forme que l'hon a sceu deviser pour promouvoir le dit Seigneur Cardinal au dit Sanct Siege, comme par la copie de mes lectres donnée au dit Paceo avec les originales, se pourra assez cogneistre, et pouvez estre asschuré et le dit Seigneur Cardinal aussy, que en cest affaire tant que en moi sera, mespargneray chose quelconque, pour le conduire à bon effect,

is nothing which I would leave undone, which might contribute to this good effect ; and glad should I be, could he see with his own eyes, and understand, the full extent of the assistance I am ready to offer, not only in letters and words of myself and my friends, but also, should need be, by force of hand, in employing all the army which I have in Italy, and that not a small one ; for besides the forces I have now in Lombardy, there remain in our Kingdom of Naples, the five hundred men at arms, and the five hundred light cavalry of the rear Guard, which might be brought forward on any sudden emergency, as my Ambassador will more particularly inform you. And now I will conclude, praying the blessed Son of God, to give you a good, happy and long life."

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et vouldroye bien que luy mesme puist veoir de l'euil et cogneistre la bonne assistance que luy vouldroye fere, non seulement de lectres et paroles, tant de moy que de mes amys, mais aussy quand il seroit besoing avec la main, y emploiant toute l'armée que j'ay en Italie, que n'est pas petite, car oultre celle que est encoures en Lombardie, sont demeurez en notre Royaulme de Naples cinq cens hommès d'armes et cinq cens chivaux ligiers de l'arriere garde, desquelz l'hon se pourroit ayder soudainement à une necessité, comme vous dira plus amplement mon Ambassadeur, et à tant ferai fin, priant le Benoit Filz de Dieu qu'il vous doint bonne vie et longue."

## THE EMPEROR TO MONSEIGNEUR THE CARDINAL OF YORK.

Ghent, 27th Decr. 1521.

“ Monseigneur Legate, my good father, and especial friend! I have received by the Secretary Pace, the letters which the King my uncle, and you have written with your own hands ; and it gives me great pleasure to find that they were in perfect accordance with what I had already written on this subject ; and the more so, because a way is opened to me, to prove how cordially I desire your increased greatness and advancement, which you will the more distinctly perceive from the letter I have written with my own hand, to the King my uncle, and still more so from my Ambassador who will confer with you on every necessary detail. I will not therefore write more at length, assured as you must be, that no effort on my part will be wanting for the desired result, and that my favor in this affair will be confined to you alone, as the Creator knows my affection is ; and may he grant you, Monseigneur Legate, all your desires, with a happy and long life.”

Pace after he had delivered his letters at Ghent, and received the Emperor’s instructions, proceeded on his way to Rome ; but supposing him to have made every exertion, in expediting his journey, he could not possibly have arrived in time for the purposes of his mission.

Adrian of Utrecht, Cardinal of Tortosa, formerly preceptor of Charles, and then administering in his

name the affairs of Spain, was elected Pope on the 9th of January, 1522.

The struggle in the conclave \* which lasted fourteen days, and ended in this result, had been throughout warm and turbulent. The candidate first named was the Cardinal of Medicis, who favored by some Cardinals in the Emperor's interest, but strongly opposed by the French party, was resolutely rejected. Others were brought forward, who were less decided in their politics ; but with no better success. At one time, the

\* The following are the forms observed in the Conclave for the election of a Pope.

The day after the last of the funeral of the late Pope, the Cardinals after hearing a solemn mass *de Spiritu sancto*, proceed to one of the Pontifical palaces, where rooms have been prepared for each of them, and where they remain till the election has taken place. Each Cardinal has with him a Secretary called *Conclavista* and two domestics. They meet once a day in the chapel of the Palace, where a scrutiny is made of their votes previously written, and placed in an urn. This is repeated each day, till two thirds at least of the votes are in favor of one Candidate, who is then duly elected. Each Cardinal in giving his written vote, gives also his name with it, written on a separate and sealed paper which is not opened, till the Pope is declared. When the election is strongly contested, and the Cardinals become weary of their confinement, negociations in writing are carried on between the leaders of parties, and a compromise is entered into, by which two or more parties not being able singly to succeed, join in favor of a third, who is acceptable or at least not obnoxious to any of them ; a proceeding which often gives an unexpected turn to the election. During the Conclave the ambassadors of Austria, France and Spain, have each the right to put their veto upon one particular Cardinal, whose election would be objectionable to their respective Courts.

contest seemed to rest between the Cardinals Farnese and Colonna, but neither could obtain the requisite number of votes.\* Wolsey was at length named, and stood three divisions of the Conclave; on the first he had nine votes, on the second twelve, on the third an increased number, but under twenty, beyond which he could not advance. After ten scrutinies, in which negatives prevailed against all the names submitted, some one of the imperial party proposed Adrian Cardinal of Tortosa, when fifteen votes were pronounced in his favor; to these afterwards four of the friends of de Medicis added their support; and others suspecting some secret influence successfully at work, and seeking to gain credit by timely aid, suddenly concurred in joining their suffrage also.

On the eleventh scrutiny, twenty six votes (forming the requisite two thirds of the thirty seven Cardinals then in conclave) were consequently found to have declared for Adrian of Utrecht; who although a stranger to Italy, and almost unknown even to those who supported him, thus obtained the papal crown to the surprize of the Cardinals themselves, and the utter dissatisfaction of the Roman citizens.

Whilst this important election was pending, Wolsey

\* This account of the proceeding of the Conclave at this election rests on the authority of Sharon Turner, who with singular care and diligence has in his history of Henry VIIIth adduced much curious evidence from MS. letters in the British Museum, bearing on this and other interesting points, never as it would appear before consulted.

seems to have apprehended some underhand dealing unfavourable to his cause, as is intimated in the following extract from Mezza's dispatch to the Emperor, dated 17th January, 1522.

## MEZZA TO THE EMPEROR.

"The Sieur Legate has informed me, that he has received news from Rome, which leads him in nowise to anticipate any great advantage from Pace's mission, inasmuch as your Majesty's Ambassador, Don John Manuel, is doing every thing in his power to promote the cause of Medicis. This he said with a change of colour and manifest expression of anger. I enquired whether he had good grounds for what he affirmed ; and considered myself called upon to assure him, that, if so, Manuel's conduct would be most certainly altered after his first interview with Pace."

A very few days after the above date, the intelligence of Adrian's election reached the Emperor at Brussels ; and the sentiments with which he received it will appear in an extract of his dispatch to his Ambassador in London.

## CHARLES THE FIFTH TO MEZZA.

Brussels, January 21st, 1522.

"However anxious was our wish that Pace should have arrived in Rome at the right time, and that the letters we had written in favor of the Sieur Legate had been conducive to the fulfilment of his wishes, and

those of our uncle the King ; yet must we be thankful, the object we had at heart having thus failed, that the choice fell upon Cardinal Tortosa, whose elevation, next after the Cardinal of York, will certainly be most for the good, not of ourselves only, but of the whole of Christendom. I hope to have the greater interest with him, who under my own roof was my instructor in morals and literature."

In a subsequent dispatch the Emperor thus refers to Wolsey's complaints, noticed in Mezza's letter of the 17th January.

CHARLES THE FIFTH TO MEZZA.\*

Brussels, Feb. 5th, 1522.

" With regard to the news which the Sieur Cardinal intimates having received from Rome, you may confidently assure him that Don John Manuel had no sort of commission from us to interest himself in favor of Medicis, or of any other person whatsoever, except Wolsey himself. The letters requiring him to make every possible effort to secure Wolsey's election, had not then arrived ; and before the actual meeting of the Conclave, he had no other orders from us than to remind the Members of the sacred college col-

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\* " Surplus quant aux nouvelles que ledit Sieur Cardinal dict avoir eu de Romme, vous pouvez en ce hardiment asschurer le dit Legat, que le dit Don Jehan n'a jamais eu charge de nous de l'election en faveur de Medicis ne aultre quelconque excepté les lectres que lui escriptivismes en faveur du dit Sieur Legat, lesquelles ne lui ont été presentées ; et avant que les Cardinaulx entrassent en conclave, il n'avoit eu aultre charge de nous, que de requerir ledit Collége des

lectively and individually, strictly to do their duty in making such a choice, as promised to be most conducive to the welfare of the Church, and the cause of Christianity.\* But since, at the time when the election took place, neither Pace nor the Courier had reached Rome, it is in the highest degree improbable that Don John should have made interest for Medicis in particular ; and indeed the result seems to prove the contrary. The choice, which fell upon one, who was never even contemplated by any party, appears to have been rather the choice of God, than of men. And seeing that our dispatch did not arrive in time to operate in favor of the Sieur Legate's election ; he may nevertheless be pleased with the choice of one, who of the whole college is the person most likely to do him favor and advantage."

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Cardinaulx, et chacun en particulier, quilz voulsissent en ce des-  
charger leur conscience et elire celui que leur sembleroit plus con-  
venable pour le bien de l'Eglise et de toute la Chretienete : et puys  
que au temps de l'Election n'etoit encore arrivé Paceo ne le Courier  
qui apportoit les lettres ecrites en faveur du dit Legat, n'est vray-  
semblable que ledit Don Jehan deust avoir faict particuliere sollici-  
tation pour Medicis, mesmes voyant l'effect, qui s'en est ensuy, tout  
au contraire d'avoir esleu celluy auquel nul y pensoit, qu'est plus-  
tost euvre de Dieu que des hommes ; et puys que la depeche n'estoit  
venue en temps de pouvoir profitter à M. le Legat, il se doit resjoyr  
qu'elle soit tombée ceste election sur celluy duquel il doit esperer  
plus de bien et avancement que de nul aultre du Collége."

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\* It would appear that the Cardinals sent to Rome from the French Court were not more fortunate than Pace. They were to have hindered the choice of a Pope devoted to the Emperor's in-

The following is a curious testimony\* on the subject of this election, extracted from a letter of the Emperor to Charles de Peupet one of his Ministers, dated the 8th March, 1522.

“ Since our last letter of instructions to you, we have received dispatches from the Holy Father, and our Viceroy, from Spain, and others from Rome. Those from Spain will serve to shew you how eagerly the Cardinal de Santa croce (he who with the semblance of an inspired person pronounced the name of Adrian) hurried to be the first to address his Holiness, and to give him to understand, that it was *he* who made him Pope, and moreover that he had done so against the will of the Emperor, who through his minister Manuel had been working in favor of another—all fabrication and untruth. We further were informed, that the man whom Cardinal de Santa croce sent to the Pope, had previously been with the French King, and under pious pretences, had made very base offers, to substantiate which, he is now endeavouring to win over the Pope’s favor. All these circumstances make it imperative, that you should explain to the Pope the relation in which he really at present stands with respect to us. Inform him, that the aforementioned Cardinal did not make him Pope, he having on the contrary given himself a great deal of trouble to throw obstacles in the way of his election; for although this terest, and heard, whilst yet on their journey, that the election had already taken place.

\* Hormayr.

Cardinal at the last scrutiny did give his vote in favor of Adrian in the certain expectation that he would not be chosen ; yet when he found the number of votes swelling, and finally on the point of determining the election in Adrian's favor, he then endeavoured to withdraw his own vote ; a proceeding which the other Cardinals would not admit of. And this you may add as the purest truth, that he has to thank no man for his elevation, but God, and his own high character. In some respects, to judge from a declaration made to our Minister Hinbercourt by several of the Cardinals, there might be some little bias in favor of his pretensions from good will and consideration towards ourselves."

The sentiments and conduct of Charles the Fifth, as shewn in the foregoing extracts from dispatches to his ministers, must remove all reasonable ground of suspicion that he was insincere in his professions in Wolsey's favor, with regard to this important election. That he was ready enough to employ dissimulation in his policy, is sufficiently declared in a former letter ; but were Wolsey's surmises well founded with respect to Manuel, the Emperor's ambassador at Rome, and were this minister, on a contingency so little anticipated as the death of Leo, for which it cannot be presumed that he had received any instructions, doing his best to promote the advancement of de Medicis, no blame can on this account fairly attach to his master. Neither the Courier, nor Pace, who was charged with full and implicit directions, had at that time arrived. The Imperial party was certainly favorable to this Car-

dinal from his known hostility to the French; and it is evident from the diplomatic *ruse* with respect to two letters, one of which was to be delivered, and the other suppressed according to circumstances (as referred to in the dispatch of Mezza) that the success of de Medicis would be far from unpleasing either to the Emperor or King Henry. But setting aside every other motive than those of interest and expediency, we may conceive Charles sincere in seeking the elevation of Wolsey, as the most solid link for securing the alliance of Henry, and of attaching the new Pope indissolubly to his cause. Such at least might have been the expectation of Charles at the early age of twenty-two, cautious and calculating as he was, and prudent far beyond his years. How far these anticipations might have been realized, is another consideration. A deeper, and more experienced insight into the workings of an ambitious mind would have suggested perhaps, a more probable result in the recurrence of the history of a former Henry, and his favorite prelate, a former Thomas of Canterbury.

On the other hand, the election of Adrian was never once contemplated by the Emperor. Such an event would have placed a friend on the papal throne; but not have brought with it any further accession of power in reference to the grand struggle between himself and Francis. It is nevertheless reasonable to suppose, that the decision of the Conclave was far from unpleasing to Charles. A certain tone of qualified satisfaction at the unexpected turn of the election is

indeed sufficiently manifested in his letter to his minister, such at least as to neutralize any feeling of disappointment on his part, from the failure of Wolsey.

It is remarkable how many different versions have appeared of the proceedings, which led to the election of Adrian the Sixth. The detail given by Mr. Sharon Turner derived from manuscripts in the British Museum, has been followed in the slight notice before referred to, because it is borne out in every respect by the testimonies as far as they go, which are here adduced.

Robertson without bringing forward any authority, states, that "Wolsey's name, notwithstanding all the Emperor's magnificent promises, of which that prelate did not fail to remind him, was hardly mentioned in the Conclave."\* If it were not frequently mentioned, we have seen in the foregoing correspondence, a sufficient reason for such an omission, as well as for the non-performance of the Emperor's promises. His imputing the result of the election to the address and intrigues of Don John Manuel seems to have no better foundation than the former assertion.

Galliard on the other hand declares, that "the imperial party loudly proclaimed itself in favor of Wolsey; whilst in secret they most strenuously sought to support Adrian's claims. By this cunning manœuvre, they made Wolsey believe that the Emperor had not failed in his promise. Even the sharp sighted Italians were themselves deceived. The election was daily going on without any decisive movement. Wolsey

\* Book II. p. 192.

and Medicis had by turns the preference, yet neither could gain the necessary superiority. The Cardinals at length growing tired of this ebb and flow; and Adrian's party now considering itself strong enough; one Cardinal as if by divine inspiration submitted his name, and the election was carried. Ever since the death of Leo, the imperial party had been agreed as to what the result was to be, and every thing had been prepared." Guicciardini alone, rejecting all thoughts of intrigue, considers this Pope's election as one of those singular freaks of fortune for which no reason can be assigned.

We may now be satisfied to conclude this subject with a very important document from the Pope himself, a letter addressed to the Emperor, in which his own impressions as to this unlooked for event, and the sentiments to which it gave occasion, are most candidly and naturally expressed; and whilst they corroborate the fact already exhibited of the Emperor's non-interference in his favor, convey a most pleasing idea of his own moral fitness, for the high dignity to which he had thus been most unexpectedly called.\*

\* Ranke speaking of this Pope observes, "it was long since the election had fallen on a man more worthy of his high and holy office. Adrian was of a most spotless fame; upright, pious, industrious; of such a gravity that nothing more than a faint smile was ever seen upon his lips, yet full of benevolent, pure intentions; a true minister of religion. What a contrast when he entered the city in which Leo had held his prodigal and magnificent court! A letter is extant in which he says, that he had rather serve God in

## POPE ADRIAN THE SIXTH TO CHARLES THE FIFTH.

Dated Saragossa, 3 May, 1522.

“ Tres cher et tres amé Filz !

Health and apostolical benediction. I have been rejoiced on receiving the letter which your Majesty has written to me with your own hand, in finding that it has not escaped your memory what you have heard from me, and learned in our hours of study, that the French are ever rich and abundant in promises, as well as in all fair and soft speeches ; whilst their acts of friendship are always measured by the standard of their interest.

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“ Trés Chier et très amé Filz !

Salut et Apostolique benediction: j'ay esté fort joyeux veuer les lettres que votre Majesté m'a escript de sa propre main, veant que ne luy est cheu de la memoire ce que de moi avoit ouy et aprins aux ecoles, assavoir, les François estre rices et abundans de promesses, belles et doulees paroles ; mais mesurer l'amitié à leur profict ; desorte, que changeant la fortune et condition des choses si ne leur vient à profict soubz quelque couleur guise et à la fois mains que véritable ; ilz, de-

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his Priory at Louvain, than be Pope ! and in fact he carried the life and habits of a Professor into the Vatican. It is a characteristic trait which we may be permitted to record, that he brought with him an old woman servant, who continued to provide for the wants of his household, as she had been accustomed to do. He changed nothing in his manner of living ; rose at early dawn, said mass, and then proceeded in his accustomed order to business and to study, which were only interrupted by the simplest meal.”—*History of the Popes.*

“This you will now prove by your own experience ; henceforward therefore, we must deal with more wisdom and foresight ; for as to the past, counsel is unavailing, though I might speak of the caution which I never failed to urge on your father King Philip, and formerly on the Emperor Maximilian your grandfather, both of glorious memory, as well as latterly upon your Majesty.

“Concerning the favor borne towards me by the French, and that which I bear towards them, you will hear from a common friend, whose name I need not mention.

“I am fully convinced of the satisfaction which you will derive from my election to the popedom ; and I never entertained a doubt that had it depended alone

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sirent et laissent l'amitié, ce que maintenant avés aprins par expérence si que la seule vexation et tribulation a été cause de ce croyre, à la myenne volonté que les autres en ces affaires vous eussent aussi diligentement ingeré la verité, j'extime et croy que ne fussions tombez et escheux ès inconveniens et dangiers du temps qui court, il est besoing que d'ici en avant, nous cheminons et marchandons plus sagement ; aux choses passées n'y a conseil, soit votre Majesté toute asseuré que quand je voudroye, je ne pourroye oublier ce que à cautelle vous ay enseigné, et depuis peu de temps au Roy Don Phelippe votre pere, et en l'Empereur Maximilian votre Aœul de glorieuses memoires, et en vostre Majesté maintenant que l'ay veu et experiménté. De la faveur que les François me portent et moi à eux, votre Majesté l'entendra d'ung notre amy commun, elle le cognait, il se presentera de soi meisme ad ce, il n'est ja besoing exprimer son nom.

“ Je suis plus que certain de la joye que avés eu de mon election à la Papalité, et me suis toujours tenu pour asseuré, que, si votre pure

on your good will and affection towards me, your suffrage would have been in my favor ; but I was equally aware that it was neither suitable to your own interests nor to the good of the Christian commonwealth, that you should have used any sollicitation in my behalf, knowing that such interference would have been fatal to your good understanding with one,\* who at this moment is of all others most necessary to your welfare in Italy.

“ Although my election may in one respect be attended with inconvenience, in taking me away from the management of your affairs in Spain, yet this will be so much overbalanced by other considerations, as nowise to diminish the joy which it will occasion you. And in this my election, the feeling which influenced the sacred college of Cardinals, as you will readily believe, and as has been intimated by them to Don John

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affection et entiere amour vous seul eussiés deast eslire ung Pape, vous fussiés decliné vers moy et m'eussiés donné votre vot, mais je savoie qu'il ne convenoit n'y à voz affaires, n'y à la Republique chris-tienne que sollicitissiès pour moy, pour ce que eussiés solut et enfrain l'amitié avec cestuy qui de tous estoit le plus necessaire aux choses de Italie, savoie aussi que icelle mon election vous donneroit quelque tristesse et desplaisance pour le detriment à venir èschoses de pardeça, à cause de mon absence ; mais l'excessive et vehemente delectation survenue en chassera et expulsera toute tristesse non seulement contraire, mais aussi toute aultre quelconque, je croy bien toutefois que à contemplacion de votre Majestè, comme le Sacré collège des Cardinaulx doibt avoir dit à Don Jehan Manuel, j'aye éste estent, sachantz

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\* Wolsey.

Manuel, was, that it would be a choice agreeable to your Majesty : for no one, it appeared, would have obtained their votes who could be considered objectionable either to you, or to the King of France.

“ I cannot therefore suppress my satisfaction in having attained to this elevation without the exercise of your influence, inconsistent as that would have been with the purity and sincerity which divine and human rights require in such proceedings ; and in saying this, you will be assured that I feel as much, if not more truly devoted to your Majesty, than if I had owed to your means and prayers my present advancement.

“ Your Majesty will nowise doubt of the constancy and continuance of my affection ; and as hitherto in all matters of negociation and treaty, I have ever considered your interests before any personal objects of my own, I shall not cease so to view them ; and therefore beg you never to entertain an idea of my being led to reverse this order, and to think of any self aggran-

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iceux Cardinaulx moy estre agreable à votre Majesté et jamais n'eussent osé eslire homme mal agreable, et à vous et au Roy de France ; je suis toutefois bien joyeux non estre parvenu à l'élection par voz prierez, pour la pureté et sincerité que les droictz divins et humains requierent en semblables afferes, je vous en scay neantemoins aussi bon gre, ou meilleur que si par vostre moyen et prières vous le m'eussies impetré.

“ Votre Majesté ne doit aucunement doubter de ma constance et perseverance en son amour ; et comme en procurant et negociant, j'ai toujours preferé vos affairs aux miens, aussi le ferai icy après ; il vous prie que ja ne vous monte en la fantasie que de laissez et postposez vos affaires je procure et entende privement aux miens.

dizement, to the detriment and undervaluing of what may concern your Majesty.

“Sire ! The cause of all our misfortunes and our adversity in general is, as St. Chrysostom observes, that we pervert the divine rules, by setting our affections on what we think convenient for us, rather than on that promise, which adds all temporal good to those who first seek the things eternal. For this *maledicti sumus*. Sire ! I pray God to grant you a happy and long life. Written at Saragossa the third of May ad tempus sacræ Romanæ ecclesiæ.

Entirely yours.”

Adrian appears to have been an honest, upright and conscientious man, but unequal to the complicated difficulties which he had to encounter. His reign which did not exceed ten months, was unsuccessful and unhappy ; and such was the satisfaction evinced on the occasion of his death by the populace of Rome, that garlands were suspended over the doors of the house of his chief physician, with the insulting inscription, “To the deliverer of his country.”

Under less trying circumstances, and in more peaceful times, this Pope\* might have administered the

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“Sire ! la cause de nostre malheur et grandes aversités comme dit St. Jan Chrisostomus est, que pervertissons le vrai et deu ordre de chercher et demander choses à nous convenables, plus a promis que adjutera les biens temporels a ceux qui premierement cerchent les biens spirituels, nous pour ce que cerchons plus affectueusement et devant tous les biens temporels pour ce maledicti sumus.

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\* “Adrian once said ; ‘ let a man be never so good, how much

affairs of the Romish Church with credit and advantage, but called to this painful pre-eminence in evil days; his very virtues were of that tone and quality, which rendered him obnoxious to his friends and little formidable to his enemies. Deeply skilled, as he is said to have been in scholastic learning, and inflexible with regard to doctrine and discipline, he looked upon the conduct of the Reformers as impious and heretical in the highest degree: but whilst he proceeded against Luther with no less zeal and asperity than Leo himself, he perceived and acknowledged, with a candor fatal to his authority, the abuses and corruptions which disgraced the Court, as well as the Church of Rome. So little was this spirit of moderation calculated to appease the contentions which had arisen, that it no less disgusted the Cardinals and great Ecclesiastics in Italy, than it tended to encourage and strengthen the friends of the Reformation throughout Germany.

To causes like these, connected with others of personal unfitness, as they were deemed by the luxurious and intriguing Italians, namely, his great simplicity, perhaps austerity of life and manners, presenting a most unfavorable contrast with the popular qualities and magnificence of his two immediate predecessors, it has been usual to ascribe the unceasing opposition, which thwarted all his projects, and rendered unavailing every

depends on the times in which he is born!' The whole feeling of his position is expressed in this painful exclamation. It was fitly inscribed on his monument in the German Church at Rome."

*Ranke's Lives of the Popes.*

attempt to suppress heresy. It is easy indeed to pronounce on those habits and qualities which may seem best suited to great emergencies, and to bring about certain ends of worldly policy; but it is neither safe nor wise to venture far in such speculations. The history of Adrian's successor would teach us the vanity of those calculations, which in the order of events attach undue importance to the character and talents of the individual through whose instrumentality they may be accomplished.

## THE CONSTABLE OF BOURBON.

A leading circumstance of the year 1523, which caused some important results throughout Europe, was the revolt and conspiracy of the Constable of Bourbon. This prince, the most powerful and accomplished Seigneur of France, was born in 1489. He was of the Montpensier branch of the Bourbon family, and by the death of his elder brother at an early age, he became its representative. By his marriage with Suzanne daughter and heiress of the Duke of Bourbon, he accumulated in his own person the wealth and honors of that illustrious house, and was thus the richest of all the Princes of his name, who had not worn the crown. His natural and acquired endowments seem to have kept pace with these lavish gifts of fortune. He had early opportunities of distinguishing himself in war, first in the expedition which Lewis the Twelfth made in person into Italy, where he served and studied under such friends and leaders as Tremouille and Bayard, and afterwards in the war of the league of Cambray. Upon the death of Gaston de Foix in 1512, Bourbon, though only in his twenty-third year, was demanded by the army of Italy as its leader; a requisition which the King did not deem it prudent to

comply with. He is said to have been beyond his years grave, reserved, thoughtful and laborious, and such as to have called forth a reflection recorded of Lewis XII. "would that there were in that young man more openness and gaiety with less taciturnity ; nothing is more deceitful than the water that sleeps."

On the accession of Francis the First (1515) Bourbon was appointed Constable of France ; and whilst performing the duties of this high office, his administrative talents, in establishing and enforcing a new system of military discipline, became no less conspicuous than his skill and valor had been in achieving the victory of Marignano.

When the King returned to France in 1516, the Constable remained behind as his Lieutenant general in Lombardy. Here he performed considerable services, and amidst many difficulties, accomplished the important object of dispersing a formidable army, which the Emperor Maximilian had assembled near Milan. On the return of Bourbon to the French Court, he was at first received with great distinction, but the King was observed gradually to cool towards him. The cause of this change has been usually attributed to a passionate attachment on the part of Louise of Savoy, mother to the King, which was not only coldly, but disdainfully met by Bourbon. Francis, however we may be disposed in charity to assume his ignorance of the occasion of the Queen's consequent hatred and resentment, was nevertheless involved, and made a chief instrument in the vindictive persecution of the

Constable, which ensued. Continued injuries and insults were now heaped upon him. His just claims to remuneration for sums furnished or borrowed by him, in his defence of the Milanese, were disallowed. His appointments, as Prince of the blood, as Constable of France, and as Governor of Languedoc were withheld ; but an affront more galling was offered to his proud spirit, when in a northern campaign against Charles the Fifth, the command of the Van belonging of right to him as Constable of France, was conferred on the Duke of Alençon. This indignity drew from him an expression similar to one uttered by a courtier of Charles the Seventh, who, being asked by his King if any thing were capable of shaking his fidelity, answered ; "no Sir, not the offer of three kingdoms such as yours, but an affront is."

On the death of his wife, Suzanne de Bourbon, without any living issue, a scheme was suggested and carried into execution through the chicanery of the Chancellor du Prat, a devoted tool of Louise of Savoy, which deprived the Constable of the most valuable part of his possessions. It was pretended, that the immense property he had enjoyed in right of his wife now deceased, should revert to the crown, or to the King's Mother, as Duchess of Angoulême, next of kin. This claim, brought for adjudication before the courts of law, it was conjectured, might subdue the pride of Bourbon, or at least from motives of interest lead him to seek in marriage the hand of the revengeful, but not implacable Louise. Deeply hurt and

offended at these injurious proceedings, the Constable sternly and determinately defended his supposed rights. The result of such a trial and in such times, may be easily anticipated. By a decree of the Parliament the property brought into litigation was sequestered ; and the rich and haughty Bourbon was thus reduced to comparative beggary.

Such were the aggravated injuries which worked on the mind of this ill starred Prince to his unhappy and culpable revolt, the miserable effects of which he just lived to experience ; miserable even in the moment of triumph, when he encountered the disdainful eye of his captive Sovereign, and the scornful repulse of his once admiring comrades.

It is said by du Bellay, in which he is followed by Robertson, that the Emperor first made overtures to this distinguished, and not without cause discontented subject. It would seem however scarcely probable, that so prudent a sovereign as Charles should so commit himself ; and it will appear in some of the following correspondence (as has been already shewn by letters quoted in Mr Turner's work) that Bourbon was himself the first to court an alliance, which stamped him a rebel and a traitor. It is no less true, that Charles caught at and responded to his proposals, in a manner marking the great political importance which he attached to such a defection, and such an acquisition.

Hormayr asserts, that the first intimation of Bourbon's wish to come over to the Emperor, was made

known to him at Valladolid, by his Chamberlain Adrian de Croy, Seigneur of Beaurain, in the latter days of August, 1522. Little advantage had accrued to the allied sovereigns, Charles the Fifth and Henry the Eighth, during the campaign of this year, a prominent feature of which was the invasion of France by the English, under the Earl of Surrey, the victor of Flodden field. This led to more formidable efforts in the following year, towards which the accession of such a powerful partisan from the ranks of the enemy, as the Duke of Bourbon, might be imagined no inconsiderable stimulative. It appears to have been proposed between the confederates in the Spring of 1523, that an overwhelming attack should be made on France by the simultaneous movement of three separate armies ; one from the Ligurian coast through Nice or Provence, another from the borders of Spain, and a third by the King of England on Picardy, with which the Governess of the Netherlands was to cooperate, with the common view of uniting in some central part of the French dominions, and thus achieving a conquest of the whole kingdom.

The following dispatch from De Praet the Emperor's Ambassador, and Marnix Treasurer of the Governess of the Netherlands, (both accredited at the Court of Henry), which gives a detailed account of a negociation with Wolsey on the conditions of this confederacy, is a curious specimen of the diplomacy of the times, and of the overbearing pretensions no less than the singular acuteness of him with whom they had to

deal. It shews moreover, that Wolsey was no longer the obsequious servant of the Emperor.

De Praet was one of the Emperor's most distinguished diplomatists, high in his Master's favor and confidence, and afterwards employed as Ambassador at the Court of London.

Philip de Marnix Lord of Aldegonde was a Flemish nobleman, celebrated for his eloquence and address. It was by his counsel and direction, on the commencement of the troubles in the Netherlands during the year 1556, that a document which obtained the name of the *Compromise* was drawn up and presented to King Philip II. It strongly marked the spirit of his countrymen at that period, but was productive of no good effect.

London, 1st June, 1523.

“Sire!

In the greatest possible humility, to your Imperial Majesty, we commend the following;

“Sire! By our last letters your Majesty has been able to see and understand the offers we have made to the King of England and the Sieur Legate, through the intervention of Madame, your Majesty's Aunt, in reference to the co-operation and assistance of the army which the said King would send across the Sea against the common enemy of your Majesty and himself.

“We have also declared to them in full detail the reasons why the proposed assistance could not be more

extended, lest the frontiers of your territories in that quarter should be left wholly unprovided against any hostile attack, which considering their great extent, they must be necessarily exposed to. We further did not fail to shew, that your Majesty had besides, provided a considerable army at your own sole charge; and therefore that the co-operation thus afforded, ought not to be thought inferior to the means employed on their part, especially as the expence to be supported by your Majesty was so great, and the aid thus afforded to the army of the aforesaid King was far from small.

“ Sire ! They could no wise be satisfied with the number we had to offer for the said co-operation, but persisted in pressing for three thousand horse and five thousand foot with the half of the artillery munition and equipage, requiring us to write immediately to the said Lady, which we have done, and have moreover received her answer. She, having communicated with M. de Beuren your Majesty’s Captain General, and acting on his advice declares, that it is quite impossible to augment the number she had already offered, to wit, two thousand good horse, and four thousand foot, with twelve pieces of field artillery ; but if they would pass the Sea, we should be ready to give all the assistance in our power ; and were the enemy to offer battle or commence a siege, there would be a force always ready of ten or twelve thousand Flemish foot to come to their assistance.

“ Sire ! we made known to them this reply with all

good persuasion thereto, and remonstrance ; but the aforesaid personages not being able to come to any positive resolution, began to put forward their objections, whereof we have already apprized your Majesty ; that is to say, in case the army in question should prolong the enterprize on foot, for one or two years, they could not take part in it on any other terms, for the reasons which I, de Praet, have already mentioned. They further declared that their people could not be so quickly ready, and that it would be impossible for them to cross the Sea before the end of the month of June, notwithstanding we had constantly affirmed that our number above offered, would be at their post by the 25th of this month. This indeed is the truth ; and it became the duty of me, Marnix, further to state and declare, that they talked of besieging Boulogne, which appeared to us, as it did to your Majesty's Privy Council a very fruitless and unprofitable enterprize. Moreover they all along persisted in sending M. Jerningham as Envoy to your Majesty to take note of your preparations, which we know not how they could expect to be in forwardness, seeing that they were all along dissatisfied with the number of troops we had offered, and persisting in requiring the number, which they demanded.

“ Sire ! In considering their manner of treating this affair, and the little disposition shewn to put their army in motion, and that time was passing on, we have insisted that at least the aforementioned Seigneur of Jerningham should hasten his departure ; and since

they have demanded so many conditions, in which it was quite out of the power of Madame, and of me, de Praet, to satisfy them, we have declared our opinion that it would be best to furnish the said Envoy full power to treat of the whole affair with your Majesty in person, especially as they lay great stress on the coming of your Maitre d'Hotel Mosqueron, and the money which he ought to bring for raising men, by means of which they conceive it will be very easy to complete the number wanted both of foot and horse, and even more; whilst their intention is limited to bringing into the field under the orders of M. de Suffolk as their commander and lieutenant of the King, a force not exceeding fifteen thousand foot with a portion of artillery.

“ Sire ! In following up this day (21st of May) the execution and conclusion of our business with the Sieur Legate, (which has already detained me, Marnix, more than twenty days) ; and I, de Praet, having replied to the letters of your Majesty of the 16th of April, the said Legate, in presence of the Privy Council of the King his Master, informed us, that if it were our wish to treat concerning the army which your Majesty was expected to provide against Guienne, and the assistance which the aforesaid Madame would render in your name, he was ready to enter into this affair. He said that whilst their preparations were proceeding, he would send the aforesigned Jerningham to your Majesty, in order to report the progress which was making on your part, and that as soon as he found

matters in effectual operation, he would lose no time in transporting the troops to Calais, although your Majesty as he observed, would have no difficulty in postponing the grand enterprize of the war, since you had, according to the tenor of your Majesty's late letters, desired a truce of three years.

" Upon this, Sire, I, de Praet, perceiving that the said Cardinal wished only to put some appearance of justice on his side, without any desire to advance the business in hand, answerd, that I would willingly treat with him in pursuance of the instructions of Madame which had been communicated to me through Marnix, and, I added, there was no fault on our part, seeing that our people had been in readiness since the 15th of this month. With respect to the army which your Majesty was expected to employ on the side of Spain, for the invasion of Guienne or some other part of France, I said that I should be equally willing to enter into that subject also, according to the orders which I had already received in your Majesty's letters, in which among other things I am directed not to lay too great stress on this point, being of no great importance ; and in order to come to as speedy a settlement of it as possible, I transmitted a note, of which I enclose a copy. But since they mistrust your Majesty's preparations, and therefore have wished to send the aforementioned Jerningham, he perhaps might be the fittest person to treat of this affair. The Cardinal's object is sufficiently apparent, namely to bind your Majesty, and to leave the King his Master at liberty, a

proceeding not altogether fair and to the purpose, whilst I am not quite aware of the measures taken by your Majesty, and whilst they assume, that their movements must be tardy, and perhaps ineffective, in consequence of this imputed dilatoriness.

“ We have therefore judged it expedient, Sire, in order that no charge of this sort may be justly imputed to your Majesty, to lay before the Cardinal Legate the aforementioned note, expressing our offers to enter into a treaty on this subject, according to the powers already granted to us for this purpose. The Sieur Legate nevertheless became more difficult, and although he had before expressed himself satisfied with the offer of Madame, he then complained that it was too small, making use of several reproachful words against your Majesty in his accustomed manner, and saying that it was proper to await the arrival of Mosqueron, before he could enter into any treaty at all. In fine he put us off till this day (Whitsunday) at Greenwich, where we were to have an audience of the King, and where he would be present, and come to a final decision.

“ On which day and in which place we were assembled, when the same my Lord the King related to us the good news he had received from Scotland, how that his people had laid waste and destroyed two of the finest tracts of country on the frontier, and how they had taken and razed several strong castles, having met with little resistance. At all this the king shewed great joyousness, and turning to me, Marnix, asked if I would not increase the number which I had offered

on the part of Madame, as otherwise the co-operation could not be deemed equal, and unless they had a more numerous cavalry than the two thousand promised on her part, it would be surely impossible for him to bring his infantry into the field. To this we both in presence of the Legate made our answer as before, observing from the extended frontier of your Majesty's territories which could not be left unprotected, how impossible it would be to contribute a larger portion of cavalry ; and having said this, I, Marnix, craved permission to return. Inasmuch however as the King appeared mild and considerate, and disposed to be satisfied, the Legate took up the argument, and pronouncing that the thing was not feasible, drew the King his Master towards the Privy Council, where they remained a long time together. At length the Sieur Legate came to inform us that his King had embarked in this war for the sake of your Majesty ; and in good train and expectation as he then was to reduce the Scotch to obedience, he was far from indisposed to extend his endeavours for your Majesty's satisfaction ; but on your side, he maintained, that nothing was done, and that the co-operation proposed was not on equal terms, which to become such, absolutely required that a force should be sent from your Low Countries of three thousand cavalry, and a like number of foot, with which they would be content, and were ready to abandon that part of their demaad which related to artillery and munition.

“ The Legate then begged us to lose no time in writ-

ing to your Majesty, and that I, Marnix, should remain here until the answer arrived ; that in the meantime he could continue to negociate with us, leaving a blank space in the treaty, for inserting the article respecting the number of troops when the expected instructions from your Majesty should be received.

“ Upon which, after again repeating the reasons we had already urged, in order to avoid any unnecessary delay, we agreed to write to your Majesty, and moreover I, de Praet, expressed my entire readiness to treat with him according to the note which I had already transmitted, as beyond it I had no power to go ; for it was not to be expected that I could impose on your Majesty any further obligation than he was willing to lay on the King his Master. And whatever he may say, Sire, if it be their intention to do nothing until such time as something is commenced on your Majesty’s part, and notified through the means of Jerningham, who is to be sent off as they pretend in two days, yet from the delays which may arise on his journey, and in those of the expected communications to be hereafter made, it is easy enough to see that the season will pass without a single effort of any importance.

“ With regard to another subject, Sire, the payment of the army of your Low Countries will expire at the end of September, from which time how it is to be continued we cannot well devise, but on this point the arrival of your Majesty’s Maitre d’Hotel, Mosqueron, and the supplies which he is expected to bring according to your Majesty’s letters, is much looked to,

the long delay of which has made them the more distrustful of your Majesty's preparations. The Sieur Legate in conclusion of our conference said, that he would come on Thursday the 28th of May into this city, and then we might begin to negociate the treaty.

"Sire ! On the aforesaid 28th of May, we did not fail to resort hither to meet the Cardinal, with whom were assembled the Privy Council of the King, and having insisted that he should be pleased to take some resolution with regard to the affair in hand, as the time was passing, and your Majesty was continuing in suspense without knowing what was to be done, the said Cardinal in presence of the said council demanded of me, de Praet, to see my credentials and commission to treat with him, notwithstanding they had been in his hands six weeks before. I presented them however to him again, which being looked at, he enquired if it were my wish to enter into a negociation. To this I answered in the affirmative, according to the tenor, I added, of the note which I had transmitted, but beyond it, and into more particular detail, I was not authorised to go. The Sieur Legate replied that a treaty in such sort and so general would be of no avail, that it was quite necessary to go into particulars, to wit, a specification of the number of horse and foot and artillery, as well as of the time when they were to be brought into the field, and further he insisted that your Majesty was to invade the Dutchy of Guienne with your grand army, and with another the provinces of Languedoc, according to the provisions heretofore made and declared

by the tenor of your Majesty's letters under the date of the 8th day of March. At the same time the Sieur Cardinal reproachfully intimated that I had no right to enter into the subject at all, unless prepared to treat on these very points. To this I replied, that it was true your Majesty was ready to provide such and such a force by sea and by land in the manner aforesaid, and that it would doubtless be of such quality and such numbers as could not fail to satisfy the King his Master. Nevertheless it was beyond my power and altogether unreasonable under such circumstances to enter into a particular obligation which would bind your Majesty to the furnishing of one army to make an invasion on the side of Guienne with an equipment of artillery fit for sieges and field service, and of another to march upon Rousillon, independently of the aid to be rendered by Madame on the side of Flanders of two thousand horse and four thousand infantry with twelve pieces of field artillery, whilst the King his master was held under no other obligation than the supply of fifteen thousand foot with the usual complement of artillery and munition. I maintained also, that an ambassador or any accredited minister was oftentimes charged by his Master generally to speak of, and to propose matters, without being authorised to bind himself specifically in any particular. In proof of this I begged to remind him of the example afforded on his part last winter, when in his conference with M. de Badajoz and myself he referred to the armies which the King his Master was levying for the inva-

sion of Scotland, nothing of which was yet done or accomplished. To this the Sieur Legate made no direct reply, but resuming his observations on the inequality of the expence of which I had spoken, reminded me again of the faults of the war during the last year both by sea and land, and of the little assistance which the English had received from your Majesty. Indeed he did not hesitate to declare, that your Majesty was not an observer of the treaties by which it had been stipulated that your marine force ought not to be scattered over the sea of Spain, but confined to the channel which is the true sea of France, and that thus the article in the said treaties relating to this matter, should be interpreted and understood. To this, Sire, uttered in my presence, I replied with arguments such as I had before used, that concerning the army of the Scheldt no blame could attach to your Majesty, and as touching the want of success at sea, the words of the article referred to imposed no sort of obligation on your Majesty in the sense which he had thought proper to pretend. He ought, I added, to be well aware of this, as he had himself drawn up the treaty, and knew well in what sense and with what intent, the article in question had been introduced.

“ Notwithstanding all these devices of the Sieur Legate, I proceeded to repeat, that since he was not unwilling to give attention to the article in the dispatch which your Majesty was pleased to write to me, of the 7th of February, by which the number of troops

brought into the field was particularly specified (on condition of the assistance required from him being acceded to and declared) I should be quite ready to enter into an obligation on the part of your Majesty to fit out a good and powerful army on the side of Spain. That it should be provided and equipped in such a manner as to enter Guienne or Languedoc, or elsewhere in the kingdom of France, as you might deem most expedient, to invade, to besiege, to give and to receive battle, being present with it in person, should circumstances permit. With regard to the time for the commencement of operations, were it not for the uncertainty of the weather, that I should be willing to fix it according to the note beforementioned, or not later than twenty days after the ratification of the treaty. In respect to the contingent to be furnished by Madame, looking to the proposal made by us, Marnix and de Praet, which laid no positive obligations on the King his Master as to the number of troops, provided a well appointed and suitable force were brought into the field, a reinforcement on her part, I observed, would be undoubtedly brought forward according to the number already stated.

" At this the Sieur Legate was no wise satisfied, and beginning to put himself into a passion, seemed desirous that I should treat in every particular only according to his pleasure ;—that is to say, that I should place your Majesty under much more strict obligations than the King his Master, and much beyond any powers I possess ;—even that your Majesty should be held

bound to invade the territory of the common enemy expressly by Guienne, as well as by Languedoc. That the choice of these two provinces should not rest with your Majesty to be determined according to your own judgment and information, (which might render one a point more desirable of attack than the other,) unless a second army were in readiness for the other specified point of invasion ; and in fine he insisted on the 1st day of August being fixed upon, for the commencement of operations.

“ Seeing with whom I had to deal, I answered him as mildly as I could, begging him not to put himself out of humour with me, who could not do any thing beyond the commission, I had received ; and since they could not possibly be in readiness before the first of August, and since M. Jerningham had been dispatched to your Majesty to await your answer before their army were put in motion, and moreover as they wished for a delay for two years, before the great enterprize in view were undertaken, I begged to suggest whether it would not be better to submit the whole affair to your Majesty’s consideration, inasmuch as the points he seemed so strongly to insist on, went far beyond my authority to treat of. This being apparently admitted by the said Sieur Cardinal and the Council, they have determined that to-morrow, the last day but one of May, a draft should be made out of such articles as they wish to introduce into the treaty, and that these should be shewn to us the following day, in order that they may be transmitted to your Majesty with all pos-

sible expedition. It was agreed that if they meet with your Majesty's approbation, they should be accepted by the said Jerningham and Dr. Sampson who are to have authority for the same, and that your Majesty's pleasure in this affair should be forthwith communicated to me, with a view to the immediate preparations which would then be required.

" Sire, this has appeared to us the most expedient method of getting rid of the present difficulty, and of advancing the work in hand ; as your Majesty in seeing the said articles, will be best able to discern their intentions, which according to our opinion are altogether to their own especial profit and advantage.

" Sire ! Upon this day the last of May, according to the appointment of the Sieur Legate, we again met, and were shewn the articles which he had digested, and which were now submitted to us in a written form. The purport of these is, that your Majesty should provide an army of twenty thousand men, foot and horse included, to invade the enemy by Bayonne or by the Dutchy of Guienne. The King his Master is held to furnish one not exceeding fifteen thousand ; from which a portion is to be employed in the siege of Boulogne, to be increased on your Majesty's part by a contingent from the Low Countries of three thousand horse and a like number of foot, though we had never been empowered to offer more than two thousand horses and four thousand foot, and what seemed further objectionable, their armament is not to be required till the first of August.

“ We did not hesitate candidly and with as good a grace as we could command, to protest against those articles as being wholly unreasonable, and for the causes before assigned. The Sieur Legate replied to us in his accustomed manner, repeating all the great things they had done for you from the beginning, and throughout, and how we ought not to throw any difficulties in the way of these demands, offering however to qualify the article respecting the twenty thousand combatants, which they had demanded, in a manner which your Majesty will perceive. In all other particulars they would admit of no change ; wherefore seeing that nothing was to be gained by any further discussion, we agreed to send the draft of the articles proposed, for your Majesty’s consideration, to be dealt with according to your good pleasure.

“ Sire ! In considering the difficulties which are insisted on, in furnishing this army by the Sieur Legate and his Colleagues, as well as the lateness of bringing it now into the field, it will be impossible at present to attempt any grand movement against the enemy ; since according to the terms on which they are disposed to treat, its service cannot be extended this season beyond the term of three months, from the beginning of August to the end of October. The latter part of this period cannot be very favorable for the transport of artillery and baggage, since the earlier and better part of it, is, it seems, to be occupied in an attempt upon Boulogne, which appears to me and your Privy Council, as well as to several English, and even

to the Treasurer of Calais, a most unprofitable undertaking. The latter declared to me, Marnix, that the place was impregnable; and since to this point, the force which Madame is to employ must be sent, the greater part of your Majesty's Low Countries will be left unprotected and exposed to the enemy, as from the position of the said town of Boulogne, troops there employed cannot be available to any other purpose. Apprehending also that the payment of the *Gens d'armerie* of the Low Countries may probably fail at the end of September, they could not but be highly dissatisfied, considering the treaty in hand, were the said expenditure not to be continued from your Majesty's own resources during the whole month of October. I fear indeed further that if Madame should not change her opinion in increasing the aforesaid number of troops according to their pleasure, in making up the three thousand horse, which they demand, an additional expence must necessarily fall upon your Majesty.

" Considering all these circumstances, Sire, it appears to us under your good favor and correction, that if your affairs admitted of such a postponement, on account of the aforesaid reasons, and the facility of putting off the grand object of the war until the month of May next, it might be expedient under colour of yielding to the desire they have long expressed of following up their success against Scotland, which they pretend to have already in their power, and complain that the opportunity may be lost by the treaty in hand, to dispense with their assistance at present altogether,

and not to accede to the terms, they demand. And in this, Sire, we entreat your Majesty to receive our small advice in good part, and to make use of it, if it should meet your good opinion and approbation, for in acquittance of our own duty we have anxiously desired to apprise your Majesty of the whole affair. Although I, Marnix, have no commission to take part in these conferences, and have pressed for permission to return, the Sieur Legate has nevertheless wished and requested that I should be present and concerned in these proceedings with me, de Praet, in order to make a report of them to Madame.

“Sire! The said Madame has written to inform us how the King of Denmark, who with the Queen and his children, is, as we have already made known to your Majesty, in your Low Countries, has demanded of her three things. One, that she should be willing to render sufficient aid and assistance to enable him to reconquer his kingdom; a second, that she should grant a passport to one of his people whom he intends to dispatch to your Majesty, and by him should write to you in his favor; the third, that you should write to Monseigneur your Majesty’s brother, and the Electoral Princes, that right and justice may be rendered to him in his quarrels and contentions against his uncle the Duke of Holstein, who, with the aid of the city of Lubeck, has occasioned his expulsion. To these demands, inasmuch as regards the two latter, Madame has signified her willing acquiescence; but in respect to the first, she begs to be excused, on account of the

impossibility of acceding to it ; and refers all to the good pleasure of your Majesty.

“ And further in this matter we have to apprise your Majesty, that the said Seigneur King of Denmark, has sent a herald to demand a permanent safe conduct of the King of England, to enable him to come and go with his navy, into any of the ports of this Kingdom, according to his pleasure, either towards friends or against enemies. The Sieur Cardinal has informed us, that a safe conduct has been granted him for six months, on condition of his coming without ships and with a suite of not more than a hundred followers, and not going into Scotland or elsewhere into an enemy’s country ; and hence the Cardinal hopes that he will not give them the trouble of coming at all.

“ Sire ! In consequence of our remonstrances with the Sieur Legate, they have ceased, it appears, to insist on the article of the invasion of Languedoc, as it has not again been mentioned ; but at all events, it is clear they will not proceed with the said treaty, unless your Majesty should agree to postpone the grand enterprise for at least a year, although nothing is expressed to this effect in any article.

“ The aforesaid Jerningham has received a positive charge in his instructions to press this point with your Majesty before concluding the treaty, as well as a distinct power for this purpose, which we have seen.

“ The said Envoy will set off on his journey to-morrow ; and since it is not probable that he will arrive so soon as this Courier, we have thought it

necessary to apprise your Majesty of this particular, for, were you disposed to accept the articles without agreeing to this delay, the proceeding would end in nothing.

"Sire! We expect an answer from Madame in three or four days touching her acceptance or the contrary of their last requisition, of which we shall hasten to inform your Majesty; and I, Marnix, shall then immediately return to my Mistress.

"Sire! Your Majesty will continue to direct and command our best services according to your own good pleasure; and for the accomplishment of all your high and noble desires we pray God to aid you with his power, and to grant your Majesty a good and long life.

Written at London this first day of June, 1523.

Of your most sacred Majesty  
we are the most humble and most obedient

*Signed*

LOUIS DE PRAET.

JOHN DE MARNIX."

At the period of these negotiations, the meditated revolt of the Constable of Bourbon was not the profound secret which might have been expected. It appears from the authority of letters in the British Museum, cited by Mr. S. Turner, that on the 12th of May, Bourbon had opened a direct communication with Wolsey by the Sieur de Chasteaufort, explaining his proposals and intentions. In a sequel to the dispatch

of de Praet (dated 1st of June, 1523) the following passage occurs ; “ In truth, Sire, this affair I know not why, has not long remained a secret, and in a short time cannot fail to be publickly known. Even at this Court there are to my knowledge, more than ten people now acquainted with it. The day before yesterday when the Cardinal and I met concerning the present war, he immediately began to talk of the coming over of Bourbon, and related the whole transaction from beginning to end, and this in the presence of the Duke of Suffolk, Messieurs Talbot and Wingfield, three of the Bishops, and the Treasurer Marnix. M. de Badajoz and I knew it ever since the past month of January ; but we obstinately denied it before the King of England and the Cardinal, until your Majesty ordered us to be candid on the subject.”

It seems indeed that definite advances had been made through M. de Croy, when Bourbon’s views and proposals were first made known to the Emperor in the preceding autumn at Valladolid. The Duke asked the hand of one of the Emperor’s sisters in marriage, offering to assist him with five hundred horse and ten thousand foot, by raising the provinces where he had adherents and dependants. A negociation on this basis was speedily decided on ; and M. de Croy was sent to London to confer with Wolsey, and afterwards to enter into a formal treaty\* with Bourbon. The issue

\* The oath of allegiance which Bourbon was to swear to King Henry is given by Rymer as an accompaniment to this treaty, as follows :—

“ Juramentum homagii et fidelitatis a præfato Duce pro nobis et

of this negociation is communicated to the Emperor in the following dispatch.

**LETTER OF ADRIAN DE CROY SEIGNEUR OF BEAURAIN ENVOY FROM THE EMPEROR TO THE DUKE OF BOURBON.**

Dated Genoa, 22nd of July, 1523.

“ Sire !

I came in communication with M. de Bourbon the

nomine nostro, quod ipse nos pro vero rege Franciae recognoscat et acceptabit, nobisque tanquam regi Franciae fideliter serviet, atque obediet ” &c.

The Treaty was concluded at London on the 17th of May, 1523, stipulating, on the part of Henry, that in the projected war against the French, they (the Emperor and he) should be “ communibus im-  
pensis.”

“ The monthly charge for the army to be employed under the Duke of Bourbon was thus rated :

“ 13,000 Germans	-	-	39,000 crowns
9,000 Spaniards	-	-	27,000 ,,
Subsistance of 1200 light horse			7,000 ,,
300 men at arms	-	-	6,000 ,,
Artillery and Pioneers	-		7,000 ,,

Pour le traitement de M. de Bourbon  
as Lieutenant-General of the Emperor  
and King - - - - 3,000 ,,

Marquis of Pescara as Captain-Ge-  
neral of the army - - - 800 ,,

The Seigneur de Laurain as Captain-  
General of the light horse - 300 ,,

For extraordinaries - - 400 ,,

3,000 Italians - - 10,000 , , ”

*Vide Rymer's Fædera.*

third day of July at Monbrison, which is three days journey within the French territory, and there treated with him.

“ M. de Bourbon is ready to declare himself the enemy of France, but is unwilling to enter into terms with the King of England, thinking the articles proposed too unreasonable, as I myself observed to the King of England, on leaving him.

“ At the conclusion however of our conference, M. de Bourbon declared himself ready to do whatever the King wished.

“ I have promised him, that your army shall be ready to enter France on the 26th or at latest the last day of August. The said Duke of Bourbon recommends and desires that your army may be made to enter France by Narbonne, and that this should not be deferred on any account beyond the month of August. M. de Bourbon wishes to have ten thousand Lansque-nechts which I have promised him. He hopes to gain over the son of Albert, who is much dissatisfied with his own party.

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Genes, le 22 Juillet, 1523.

“ Sire !

Je me suis trouvé vers Monsieur de Bourbon le tier jour de Juillet à Montbrison qui est trois journées dedans France, j'ai traicté avec M. de Bourbon. M. de Bourbon se declairera Enemny de France et n'a voulu traicter avec le Roi d'Angleterre, pourseque les articles que le Roi d'Angleterre m'avoit balié estoit trop deresonable comme bien je le dit au Roi d'Angleterre au partir ; toute fois en la fin M. de Bourbon est venu a me dire, qui fera pour le Roi d'Angleterre ce qu'il plaira.”

“ M. de Bourbon expects that a hundred thousand crowns should be provided for the payment of these ten thousand troops, which he hopes to have by the middle of August, and that from that time a month's pay should be sent to Constance.

“ This I have already ordered, having drawn for one half on Moqueron and Prantner, and for the other on the Abbé de Nogera. I have sent Loquinghein to Monseigneur,\* and others whom you have named, to levy the required German troops. I have dispatched also my secretary to the King of England to apprise him of all I have thought necessary, urging him to hasten his army according to the advice of M. de Bourbon; and I have advertised Madame, that if she should hear of what has passed, respecting the said duke from any other quarter, to be cautious, lest any difficulty should be thrown in the way.

“ M. de Bourbon has made friends of many rich people who are ready to come forward with several thousand crowns for the payment of his debts, at which I rejoice; for he is a fine fellow. Among these friends are, de Saint Valier, the Bishop of Puis, Emare de Prié, Ponthievre, la Clayette and many others of the same province.

“ I have treated with him according to the secret articles with which you were pleased to charge me.

---

J'ai traité avec lui selon les secrètes memoirs qui vous a plut

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\* The Archduke Ferdinand, afterwards King of Bohemia, and eventually Emperor.

He will take in marriage either Madame Eleonore or Madame Katerine, but would greatly prefer the former.

“ M. de Bourbon will stir up a fine commotion in France.

ADRIAN DE CROY.”

It was in the month of August of this year (1523) that the King of France on his route to Lyons to take the command of his army in Italy, first received intimation of Bourbon's treasonable correspondence with the Emperor. Francis, with that generosity which belonged to his character, notwithstanding the injustice which has been noticed, appears scarcely to have credited such an imputation against his kinsman and subject. Resolved however to ascertain what he could from a personal interview, and to dissuade him, if any wise committed, from his foul and perilous enterprize, he took Moulins in his way, where Bourbon lay feigning illness, to avoid accompanying his sovereign into Italy ; and paying him a visit in his chamber, informed him of the suspicions which he was unwillingly made to entertain. The Constable, who well knew how to dissemble, confessed that overtures had been made to him, to which he had never wished to lend an ear, and of which he had only desired an opportunity to acquaint the King in person, not choosing to communicate such a secret through the lips of another. He expressed at the same time his great anxiety to put an

me bailler ; il prend Me. Eleonore ou Me. Katharine ; il aimeroit beaucoup plus Me. Eleonor.

“ M. de Bourbon dressera ung bon brouilliz en France.”

end to such rumours by joining the army at Lyons, the moment his physicians would permit his removal.

Francis who had then the power of arresting him, and was urged to do so, forbore to take this step. He trusted rather to the effect which the proof of confidence he had rendered by such a visit, might be expected to have on the mind of one, who had hitherto maintained the character of a frank and loyal Cavalier ; and he resumed his journey, with the intention of awaiting the Constable's arrival at Lyons. This was so long delayed, that the King's apprehensions were afresh excited, when Bourbon, having exhausted every pretext for his non-appearance, at length set off to join him. He took the direct route for this purpose, but made a halt at la Palice ; and feigning a relapse of his illness, he dispatched one of his attendants, Perot de Warty, to apprise the King of his departure from Moulins, and of the cause which detained him on the way.

Whatever physical malady might have been assumed by Bourbon, we can easily conceive the moral disorder, the disquietude and conflicting sentiments which agitated his mind at this wretched crisis of his fate. Indecision and dissimulation were no longer available, and he must at length determine, either to be a traitor to his king, who had given such an affecting proof of his returning confidence, or at once to abandon his foreign engagements, and with them some towering hopes, and opportunities of revenge. He still however hesitated ; and no sooner had he dispatched de Warty

to the King, than he mounted his horse, and, with his attendants, leaving the road to Lyons, pressed on with all haste for his castle at Chantelles. Here, as in a position which he might defend if necessary, or quit without observation, he resolved on an attempt at negociation with the King, by a preparatory letter of submission and supplication. This, of which du Bellay has given a transcript, was hence conveyed by the Bishop of Autun, and is as follows :

“ Monseigneur,

I have written to you at large by Perot de Warty. I now write by the Bishop of Autun, the more to convince you of my desire to continue in your service. I entreat you, Monseigneur, to be pleased to believe all that he will say of me, and I assure you on my honor, I will never commit a fault against you. From our Castle of Chantelles, the 7th of September.”

The pith of the matter was however contained in the instructions to the Bishop, which accompanied the letter, and both of these documents were signed by Bourbon's own hand.

“ But may it please the King to cede to him the possessions of the late M. de Bourbon. He promises to serve him well and loyally, and with his whole heart without fault, in all places, and at all times, where and when he may require, and of that he gives assurance, to the very end of life. Also may it please the said King to pardon those whom in this affair he may be displeased with.”\*

\* Memoires de Du Bellay, 11me Livre, page 413.

It is possible that this determination was written in good faith, in which his better feelings, after much conflict had prevailed. But it was now too late. The first messenger announcing his departure from Moulins, had reached the King, and before the arrival of the Bishop of Autun with the above letter, Francis received intelligence of Bourbon's deviation from the road to Lyons and of his being shut up in his castle of Chantelles. All compromise was therefore at an end. The Bastard of Savoy Grand Master of France, and the Marshal de Chabannes, each with a hundred men-at-arms, were ordered instantly to pursue and arrest the Duke, or besiege him in his Castle. Bourbon at first thought of defending himself within his walls, but soon determined on flight. This he accomplished in the disguise of a simple gens d'armes, having sent off one of his attendants in his own dress, in another direction. Thus without page or valet and accompanied only by one friend M. de Pomperant, Bourbon after surmounting many difficulties and dangers which are related in detail by Du Bellay at length reached the borders of Savoy. All his hopes of raising the provinces had been wholly frustrated ; and instead of realizing those high expectations, he had nothing to bear along with him into foreign countries, but the odious pretensions of a fugitive and proscribed traitor.

In reviewing the subsequent career of this ill-fated prince it has been justly observed, " that the pride which Bourbon nourished, and the desire of vengeance turned only to his disadvantage the great qualities of

his nature. As long as he fought for his country he was a hero ; when he turned his arms against it he fell into that class of adventurers, who astonish by their valour, without inspiring the smallest esteem."

Some of the circumstances attending his escape from the pursuit of Francis are alluded to, in the following letter addressed to him by the Emperor.

MINUTE OF A LETTER FROM THE EMPEROR TO THE  
DUKE OF BOURBON.

Dated Logroño, 3rd of October, 1523.

" My brother !

On the 16th of September Gracian arrived and gave me news of you, which afforded me the greatest satisfaction. I lost no time in hastening his return to you, having furnished him with every information concerning myself, which it would be interesting to you to be made acquainted with. The said Gracian has however lately come back, having found it impossible to pass from hence to you ; which has also unluckily been the case with another gentleman whom I had dispatched eight days before him, and who is also returned.

" One of your gentlemen, by name Monbardon reached me three days ago, by whom, as well as through some of my spies, I have learned the difficulty in which you are placed, and that our common enemy has been desirous of seizing your person, and making you prisoner, as he has already done with several of your friends, for which I am heartily sorry.

“ Anxious as I am for your safety, you may rest assured there is nothing which the King of England, my good father and I, as well as all our friends and allies, will not be ready to do for your succour and assistance ; and that, faithful to my promise, you will ever find me a true prince, your good brother, cousin, and friend, who, come what may of good or evil fortune, will never abandon your interest, as I am sure you will never cease to feel and do the like for me.

“ My brother ! I have received accounts since the return of the aforementioned persons, that you are meditating a junction with the ten thousand Germans, a circumstance which I much desire. Their payment of a hundred thousand crowns has been sent by letters of exchange, as has been written to you by Bissy. The passage by sea is, as you know, so uncertain ; and on the other hand, that by land is so strictly guarded, that it was difficult to find a safe means of making the remittance, as speedily as I could have wished ; but thank God, it is now done, as the bearer will inform you, and so I hope before long to hear of its good effects.

“ I pray you, my brother, if it be possible, that you will speedily unite yourself and yours with my army, at least with that part of it which is in Italy, as I have communicated my desire to them that this junction be accomplished, when and where the occasion may offer : and on this article, if any other scheme should be thought of by you for our greater advantage, fail not, I beg, to say, what you would wish to do, and what you

think I ought to do, and this at large through the present bearer, as soon as possible."

In the minute of a letter of the same date and place, to the Duchess of Savoy, Governess of the Netherlands, the Emperor, after noticing the difficulties of his communication with Bourbon as expressed above, and speaking of the misfortune which had occurred in the seizure by the French King of some of his distinguished friends and adherents, requires Madame to write to the King of England with a request that he will give orders to the Duke of Suffolk\* to detain every person of rank who may happen to be taken prisoner, and not permit them to be ransomed. This direction is applied also to the army of the Netherlands, as well as to the one in Italy. It is evident from the tenor of this letter, how highly the Emperor appreciated Bourbon individually as a great military leader, whom he intended to place at the head of all his forces.

The formidable and extensive enterprize of this campaign which seemed to threaten the destruction of the French Monarchy, in consequence of the vacillation of Bourbon and other causes, dwindled into three insulated, and unavailing attacks from Spain, Germany and England. The English army under the Duke of Suffolk had assembled at Calais at the end of August; and as at this juncture, when co-operation and counsel on the part of Bourbon were eagerly expected, no intelligence reached them of his actual insurrection, Henry turned his attention to the achievement of a purely English object, the siege and reduc-

\* Then commanding the English force in Picardy.

tion of Boulogne. It was soon however deemed inexpedient to waste the season on such an attempt, in which the Flemish general with his levies from the Netherlands could hardly be expected to concur. It was therefore determined to march on the French capital with their united forces, amounting to six thousand horse and thirty thousand foot. But having penetrated to within eleven leagues of Paris, the sickness which prevailed during an unusually wet season, together with the difficulty in obtaining supplies occasioned by the judicious movements of Tremouille, and the approach of a large body of troops under Vendôme, who had raised the adjoining provinces, induced the Duke of Suffolk to retire ; and towards the middle of December, to Henry's great mortification his army resumed its quarters in Calais.

The following dispatch from De Praet, the Emperor's Ambassador in London, refers to this expedition ; and in announcing the death of Adrian the Sixth revives the subject of Wolsey's pretensions to the Popedom.

#### FROM THE AMBASSADOR OF THE EMPEROR.

Written at London the 6th of October, 1523.

“ Sire ! According to the intentions expressed in my last dispatches to your Majesty by Richard the Courier, I have so closely followed up my affair with the Legate, that he has directed the money which was placed in the hands of Dr. Knicht (Knight) Ambassa-

dor to Madame, to be employed in the payment of the ten thousand Germans of Count Felix, out of which a month's pay has been already issued.

“ With regard to the attack on Boulogne, on which the King was so resolutely bent, after many pressing considerations and arguments against it urged by the Cardinal, he has at length signified his pleasure that the said enterprize should be abandoned. He has ordered that his army should commence their march into the interior, which as I have this evening heard, has already advanced as far as St. Pol, whence, it appears, that its commanders have decided on a direct movement on Paris, which God grant they may effect. In order that there may be no failure in the payment of the said Germans, the Seigneur King has dispatched M. Roussel (Russel) who sets off the day after to-morrow, with the remainder of the two thousand crowns, in order to contribute for this purpose his own portion and quota to be distributed to the troops monthly, and according to the periods of their service.

“ Moreover, Sire, I have to inform your Majesty that I have received letters from Madame dated the 25th of last month containing the afflicting news of the decease of the Holy Father, which took place on the 14th of the said month, commanding me on this account to repair without delay to the said Cardinal to give him as it may so happen the first intelligence of this event, and to offer him on her part all the favor and assistance in her power towards his promotion to this dignity. This I lost no time in doing according

to her order, as well on the part of your Majesty as on hers ; to which he made the most grateful and suitable reply, expressing his profound thanks to Madame for such demonstrations of her good will in offering her services for his advancement to a dignity of which he felt himself utterly unworthy. Nevertheless in acknowledging her gracious intentions, he could not but bear in mind, in what manner your Majesty, when with the King at Windsor, had touched upon this subject, exhorting him to think of it and promising every possible aid on your part in bringing about its accomplishment.

“ He expressed the willingness of one, who was always ready to conform with the wishes and advice of both your Majesties, begging that Madame in case such a promotion and election should appear to her as tending to the benefit of Christendom, and to the common interests of your Majesties, would write without a moments delay to your Ambassador at Rome, and to other of your good friends there. He gave me expressly to understand that should the object in view be gained, he should not fail so to direct and conduct his future measures, that your Majesty and the King of England should have no occasion to regret the mis-application of their interest and recommendation.

The Sieur Legate further earnestly requested that this might be made known to your Majesty, and with all speed ; and the more to engage your Majesty in his behalf, he has made a great point that the King should write a letter to your Majesty with his own hand.

Although according to my opinion this announcement, Sire, cannot reach you in sufficient time, and however unwilling to dispatch a Courier at your expence for a particular object of the said Cardinal, I have nevertheless been induced to do so from divers considerations, hoping that your Majesty will not take it amiss. The Cardinal, it is clear, has this affair very much at heart, and is not without good hope of success through your recommendation and the endeavours of the King's Ambassadors, and somewhat relying on a promise from the Cardinal of Medicis that in case of the probable failure of his own prospects, he would throw all the weight he could into his scale. The choice, he assures me, will assuredly rest between three, the said Cardinal Medicis, the Cardinal Farnese, and himself.

“ Sire, I sent with my late dispatches a note to your Majesty, with a statement of the pensions which your Majesty is pleased to grant to the Seigneurs of this country, according to which it will be perceived that I made a payment to the Legate for half a year due at the end of last May.\* Having informed him that I had received your Majesty’s orders to pay the other pensions also, as far as the money in my possession would permit, the Sieur Cardinal observed, since there was not money sufficient to satisfy all, and as most of the

\* By a formal instrument quoted by Rymer, Charles agrees to pay to Wolsey 9,000 crowns a year; another pension seems to have been afterwards granted of 2,500 ducats; other pensions were given to the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk and to others of less merit and degree, according to their supposed influence.

said pensioners were absent on the King's service, and since the matter was not pressing, it would be better to wait. I have therefore acted upon his advice, and shall wait, till your Majesty may be pleased to give further instructions on sending the remainder of the money, or of directing otherwise according to circumstances.

In commanding myself with all humility to your Majesty I pray our Lord to have you in his holy and worthy keeping,

“ From London this 6th day of October, 1523.

“ Your most humble and most obedient servant and subject,

DE PRAET.

In another letter of the 6th of October, 1523, de Praet writes as follows concerning Bourbon.

“ Sire,

We have just heard that Bourbon, after the determination taken with Russell, has travelled in great haste to join your Majesty in Auvergne. I enquired of a nobleman what followers Bourbon had with him, what route he took after the discovery of the negotiations, and where he had been all the time before he joined himself with his Germans. I received for answer only, that the Duke had twice been as far as the frontiers of Saulce with the intention of visiting your Majesty, but that perceiving it would have been impossible to pass the boundary without great personal

risk, he returned, and after being only two or three miles distant from Lyons where the French King then was, he went to Saint Claude in your Majesty's county of Burgundy, where the Bishop of Geneva provided him with clothing and attendance, and accompanied him as far as Besançon."

MINUTE OF A LETTER FROM THE EMPEROR CHARLES  
THE FIFTH TO HIS AMBASSADOR IN ENGLAND, IN  
REPLY TO THE FOREGOING.

Pampeluna, 27th November, 1523.

" Since our last we have received your letters of the 6th of October, which have been so long on the way, that they only reached us on the 23rd of this present month ; and what also causes us some surprize is, that Chasteau servant of Beaurain should also have so long delayed his arrival, anxious as we are to know what turn the affairs of the French army are taking in Italy, and whether our army, as is probable, has entered France, and obtained some advantage there. This, and no other has been the reason of our not having sent a courier to you till the present time.

" But to reply to the contents of your said letters of the 6th of October. The principal point is concerning

LETTRE DE L'EMPEREUR À SON AMBASSADEUR  
EN ANGLETERRE.

Ecrive à Pampelune le 27 Novembre, 1523.

\* \* " Pour responce au contenu en vos dites lettres du 6e d'Octobre.

the advancement of the Cardinal to the papal dignity. We have always desired, and with most sincere good feeling and intention have wished to promote this to the utmost of our power, having a full recollection how we, and the King our good father and brother, being at Wyndesort (Windsor), opened to him our minds on this subject, exhorting him to think of it, and promising our best services in his assistance, because it appeared to us that his promotion and election would be attended with great good to Christendom, and advantage to our common interest. On this account you have done very well in dispatching a special courier; and that you may be aware with what zeal and diligence we have taken up this affair in favor of the Sieur Legate, we send copies of letters in his behalf to the Duke of Sessa our Ambassador at the Court of Rome written before the receipt of yours, as well as of others afterwards sent to the sacred College, and to some of the

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Le principal point est touchant la promotion de Monsieur le Legat à la dignité papale, a quoy avons désiré toujours et en avons vraye bonne intention et affection favoriser le dit Sieur Legat de tout notre pouvoir, ayant bonne souvenance comme nous et le Roy notre bon pere et frere estant à Wyndesort luy fismes ouverture de ceste matiere, l'exhortant d'y penser et lui promenant toute assistance pour ce qu'il nous semble que sa promotion et Election pourra estre cause de quelque grand bien à la Chretienneté et à noz commungs affaires, à ces causes avez très bien fait de nous depecher le Courrier tout expres et affin que cognoisseyez la dilligence que incontinent qu'avons peu nous avcns semblablement fait faire par de ça pour le dit Sieur Legat, vous envoyons la coppie des lettres que avons escript à sa faveur au Duc de Sesse notre Ambassadeur à Rome." \* \* \* \*

Cardinals. You will shew and read all these copies to the said Seigneurs the King and the Cardinal, apprizing them, how we incontinently sent off a special courier to Rome as the bearer of them, which the ambassadors here present can testify. Moreover, you will inform them of our great regret, that the news of the vacancy of the Holy See had not sooner reached us, which was confirmed to us by letters from some of our people in Italy, only about the 4th of this month (November) though a rumour to this effect had before reached us from our spies in the French quarters to which we gave but little credit, from the well known deception in matters of foreign intelligence which has been so often practised upon them. We firmly believe that the Cardinal of Medicis will give his assistance to the Sieur Legate, from the little chance, as we are informed, of his own success ; and we well know and acknowledge how cordially and sincerely Madame our good aunt is occupied in this affair not only in her own name, but in ours. We entertain a good hope therefore that all these efforts will prosper, and are anxiously expecting favourable news which has been hitherto retarded on account of the tempestuous weather prevailing at sea.

“ Given at Pampeluña the 27th of the said month of November, 1523.”

The following appears at the conclusion of the minute of a dispatch from the Emperor to M. de Praet, dated Pampeluña the 15th of December, which announces the result of the election.

" We have here received the news by a letter from the Marquis de Finale that on the 19th of November the Cardinal of Medicis was elected Pope;\* but we have received no letters either from our Ambassador, or from any of our friends at Rome ; although we had been previously informed by our said Ambassador, of the great ado that was making by the different parties

\* " This Pope, who took the name of Clement VII., most carefully avoided the errors and abuses which had marked the reigns of his two predecessors ; the uncertainty and prodigality, the indecorous habits and manners of Leo ; and the conflict maintained by Adrian with the tastes and opinions of his Court. Everything was conducted with prudence, and his own conduct, at least, was marked by blamelessness and moderation. The pontifical ceremonies were punctually and reverently performed, audiences granted from morning to evening with unwearied patience ; science and art encouraged in the career they had now entered upon. Clement was himself very well informed. He could converse with the same technical knowledge on mechanics and hydraulics, as on questions of philosophy and theology. He displayed extraordinary acuteness on all subjects, penetrated to the very bottom of the most perplexing circumstances, and was singularly easy and adroit in discourse and argument."—*Ranke*.

Vettori's testimony is not less laudatory ; " non superbo, non simoniaco, non avaro, non libidinoso, sobrio nel victo, parco nel vestire, religioso, devoto."

Marco Foscari, the Venetian Abassador to the Pope, thus describes him, " Hom prudente e savio, ma longo a risolversi, e di qua vien le sue operatione varie discorre ben, vede tutto ma e molto timido . . . homo justo et homo di Dio . . . Questo non vende beneficii, nè li da per symonia . . . E continentissimo, non si sa di alcuna sorte di luxuria che usi . . . Non vol buffoni, non musici, non va a cazare. Tutto il suo piacer è di rasonar con ingegneri e parlar di aqui."

both within the Conclave and without, to carry this election, and that the Cardinals had all sworn to reject the pretensions of any foreigner, fearing the menaces of the Roman people. By this time you have probably heard the truth ; you will nevertheless do well to communicate the above to the Seigneurs, the King, and the Cardinal, advertising them that our Ambassador the Duke of Sessa had written to inform us that he was doing everything in his power, and with the utmost diligence, to influence the votes of the Conclave in favor of the Sieur Legate."

It appears more than probable from the foregoing correspondence that the Emperor used all the influence he possessed, in this as well as in the preceding election in Wolsey's favor. The Cardinal's subsequent coolness towards the Emperor's interests during the following years, has been attributed to this further proof, as is assumed, of Charles's duplicity. Such an accusation however cannot be substantiated by the result of this election ; but one point may be clearly inferred which would have the same effect on Wolsey's feelings, and that is, the incapacity of the Emperor to rule the event of these proceedings. To judge from the temper of the Conclave, partly influenced by the clamour of the Roman people, no foreigner on this occasion however recommended and supported could have hoped for success. There is a letter\* from Wolsey given in Burnet's history of the Reformation which expresses the sentiment he wishes to convey to King

\* No. IX. in Collection of Records, Vol. III., part 2.

Henry and to the world, of his joyousness and satisfaction on learning the issue of the contest. Whether he was sincere, is a different question. Experience must now however have taught him an important lesson, that he had overrated either the Emperor's inclination, or his ability. He therefore found himself at liberty to pursue a more unfettered course in his foreign administration, far from unwilling perhaps to gratify a feeling of pique or resentment against the Emperor, no unnatural consequence of his own disappointed and selfish policy.

The Duke of Bourbon, after having escaped from the French territory, passed from Switzerland by Trent to Mantua and Cremona ; at which latter place he had an interview with Lannoy the Viceroy of Naples, at that time Lieutenant General in the Milanese, and thence proceeded to Genoa to await the Emperor's orders for the direction of his future movements, where as appears from the following letter some delay occurred.

#### FROM THE DUKE OF BOURBON TO THE EMPEROR.

“ Monseigneur,

Although I have despatched M. de Bissy who will give you ample details of all that has passed, yet fearing from the uncertainty of the weather, that he will not reach you with the information with which he is charged, so soon as I could wish, and as circumstances demand, I have thought it right to dispatch the bearer of these also, who is the fifth messenger sent, to ac-

quaint you with the arrival of M. de Beaurain, and that I am still remaining here according to your good pleasure and command, which, besides the instructions contained in your letters, have been conveyed to me by the said Sieur de Beaurain.

“ Monseigneur, I hope with the aid of God and your own faithful servants that we shall be able, on this side, without sparing life or limb to cause great inconvenience to the enemy, whilst your army in another direction is giving and will give them so much to do, that no means of reinforcement will remain to them in that quarter.

“ Monseigneur, my cousin de Penthievre has lately written to me, that should it happen, that your army now here, were placed under my command, the King of England and Madame would not only again march their armies into France, but would reinforce them anew. To this I have replied, that your good pleasure is that I should remain here, where it is also my own earnest desire to do you good service; and I have entreated them to make their said armies advance, for thus the enemy will be constrained to withdraw his

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\* \* \* “ Monseigneur mon cousin de Pointhieure m'a naguières  
escript que si d'avanture advenoit qu'eusse quelque charge de votre  
armée pardeça que le Roy d'Angleterre et Madame feroient non  
seullement remarcher avant en france leur armée; la renforceroient  
de nouveau, je leur ay escrit que votre bon plaisir et que je y demeure  
et la bonne envie, qu'aye vous y faire service, leur suppliant faire  
avancer leur dite armée car en ce faisant notre ennemi sera  
constraint faire retirer son armée d'ici en nous donnant occasion et che-

army hence, and thus give us the opportunity of pursuing him and harrassing his retreat, or force him to strengthen his frontier, either of which disadvantages will be the sure means of bringing him to reason.

“ Monseigneur, if you will please to write one word to the King of England, considering his good will in the cause, it cannot fail to urge him in what the present crisis requires, and this I humbly supplicate you to do.

“ Monseigneur, I pray our Lord to grant you a happy and long life. Written at Genoa the 25th of January, 1524.

“ Your most humble and most obedient servant,

CHARLES.

FROM CHARLES DE LANNOY VICEROY OF NAPLES  
TO THE EMPEROR.

Milan, 25th January, 1524.

“ Sire,

I received the letter, which you were pleased to write to me with your own hand, and heard what

min de les bien poursuivre ou a son très grand desavantage de fournir ses frontières que sera moyen et cause le fere venir au point de raison.

“ Monseigneur s'il vous plaistit en escripre ung mot au Roy d'Angleterre avec le desir qu'il à ce seroit cause de le faire continuer en son bon vouloir comme le cas le requiert de quoy vous supplye très humblement.

“ Monseigneur je prie notre Seigneur que vous doint très bonne vie et longue escript à gennes le XXVe. de janvier.

Votre très humble et très obeissant serviteur

CHARLES.

M. de Beaurain had to tell me on your part, and have also well considered his instructions.

“ Sire, as to M. de Bourbon, I will obey him in the manner in which Beaurain has pointed out, and will render him all the service in my power.

“ With regard to the matters of which he spoke, both as to a movement in France, and those of a secret nature, which you had charged him to mention, I have given him my opinion. By these instructions it would seem, that your Majesty views the affairs of Italy somewhat differently to what they are in reality. In truth the want of money has been great, and will be greater. Something therefore must be hazarded to bring things to a crisis ; and if the authorities of Milan had not countermanded the Germans, it is more than probable the French would have raised the siege of Milan and been off.

“ Had they indeed been here as soon as I was, we should, in order to avoid an expence which is insupportable, not have lost a month, which has been lost since my arrival at Pavia ; and then the French would either have passed the Ticino or we should have gone to meet them. This is what I hope to do at the end of this week, in case the Germans join us, and to do your Majesty good service.

“ I have apprized M. de Bourbon of this our intention, in order that if he has any other and better plan he may direct us.

“ Sire, If I had not been obliged by this war of Milan, and the urgent demand of the Duke and all

your captains that I should repair hither, made still more pressing by Prospero's\* state of health (who was little better than a dead man) as well as by the strong letters of your Ambassador the Duke of Sessa to the same effect, being quite aware that the French, if they happened to gain the ascendancy, would be just as ready to pounce upon your kingdom of Naples, as the Turk would be; and as it was my duty and desire to serve you the best in my power, if I had not been obliged to be here it was my determination to have gone into Apulia to put the fortifications there in the best order I could. I have spies at Constantinople, who will not fail to apprise me of every thing new which occurs, and which I shall immediately communicate to your Majesty. Sire! I cannot desist most humbly to supplicate you for the advantage of your affairs, that your navy may be carefully looked to, which is a matter of the utmost importance for the defence of your kingdoms of Sicily and Naples.

"M. de Beaurain will advertise you of all he has done with the Duke of Genoa on this subject.

"Sire! Don Hugo de Moncada is coming with M. de Bourbon, and I will confer with him on what may be wanting for this service, and let you know.

"Sire, I will conclude, praying God to grant you a happy and long life. From Milan the 25th January, 1524. Your most humble and obedient subject

and Servant,

CHARLES DE LANNOY."

\* Prospero Colonna Governor of Milan.

LETTER FROM ADRIAN DE CROY SEIGNEUR DE  
BEAURAIN TO THE SAME, FROM PLACENTIA.

Dated 22 February, 1524.

“Sire. Since my last letter written on my way between Castel St. John and this city, I received intelligence by a Courier, of the surrender of the castle of Cremona, which has since been confirmed to me by the Governor of this city.

This is no insignificant matter, and comes very conveniently for our movements in Italy.

“Sire, the said Governor is more your servant than I know how to describe. He has rendered all the service to M. de Bourbon that he could shew to a foreign prince; and all the assistance in his power to all your servants, and especially to myself, for which I most humbly beg to recommend him to your Majesty, praying that you may be pleased to write him a kind letter of thanks.

\* “Your affairs in Italy go on well, with one exception, a want of money, of which I see no likelihood of a supply, unless our holy father and the league make a new contribution.

“When I am at Rome, I will give you an account of all my proceedings, as well as of other matters which I may be able to learn.

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\* “Vos affaires d’Italie vont tous bien saulf qu’il y a faulte d’argent et ne vois aparence d’en recouvrer si notre Saint Pere et les lighes ne font nouvelle contribution; ayant estè à Rome je vous aviseray de mon besognie ensemble de toutes autres nouvelles que je pourrai entendre.

" May our Lord to whom I pray, give you a happy and long life. From Placentia this 22nd February, 1524.

" Sire, I humbly entreat you to hasten on the affairs of Italy, for you may be assured that if the King of France loses this army, he will lose his senses."

Your most humble and most obedient  
Subject and Servant,  
ADRIAN DE CROY."

The writer of the above, M. de Beaurain was the Minister, it will be remembered, through whom Bourbon's alliance with the Emperor was negociated. He was a person highly and deservedly esteemed by his sovereign, and seems to have remained with Bourbon, as Pace did on the part of England during the greater part of his after-career. It was greatly owing to Beaurain's courage, presence of mind and fertility of resource, that the Duke in his unfortunate retreat from Marseilles was so far successful as to be able to save his army and ammunition. Beaurain's language in his letters to the Emperor, as appears from the authority of Hormayr, betrays the fondest attachment to his master, perfect good sense, zeal, and the most unshaken

" A l'aide de notre Seigneur auquel je prie, Sire, vous donner tres bonne et longue vie. De Plaisance ce 22 jour de Fevrier, 1524.

" Sire, je vous suplie humblement qu'il vous plese diligenter les affaires d'Italie; car vous poves estre assurie que si le Roi de France pert ceste armée, il est affolé."

Votre très humble et très obeissant Subjet et Serviteur,  
ADRIEN DE CROY."

constancy. During their arduous passage across the Alps in their retreat, he thus speaks of himself in one of his letters. "I have been constantly endeavouring, Sire, to find some means of repressing my natural corpulency, and I can now most honestly assert that I have discovered the true secret of such a cure on this expedition."

With the same indefatigable spirit, Beaurain had hastened the armament at Genoa for the invasion of Provence, and seems to have treated the Doge, who wished to remain neuter on the occasion, and to serve no interest but that of his own state, with some harshness and severity. It was in consequence of this, that the Emperor thought proper to send M. de Montfort to Bourbon's Head Quarters, (Burgos 10 July) with a letter which was to effect a reconciliation between the Doge and Beaurain. De Montfort was ordered also to give the latter verbally to understand, *quil vaut mieux faire les choses par doulceur que par aygreur.*

Between Bourbon and Charles de Lannoy viceroy of Naples, there was from the first as might be expected, no great cordiality of co-operation. There is a tone in the preceding letter of Lannoy to the Emperor, which betrays no little soreness of feeling at the necessity which places the writer in some degree under the command of Bourbon. A jealousy more and more excited by succeeding circumstances, manifested itself in several instances of unjustifiable opposition and vexatious delays on the part of Lannoy, in affording the support which was expected, and was in his power

to render during Bourbon's invading progress and retreat from France, as well as in the events which followed close after the battle of Pavia.

The success which attended Bourbon's first undertaking was nevertheless brilliant. During the spring of 1524 the French were driven out of the Milanese by the Imperialists under his command ; but in the ensuing summer when the renegade Duke put his army in movement against the French territory, he had difficulties and disappointments to encounter, which all the resources of his enterprising spirit, and great military genius could not overcome. His first object was to get possession of Marseilles ; but here and on his previous march, his troops suffered greatly from a failure of the aid he had counted on. The money which he expected from England, had, it appears been sent to Genoa, but it did not reach him at the time when it was most needed ; and the main supply of his provisions, for which he depended on the ships under the command of Moncada, was cut off by the French fleet, of which Andrew Doria, afterwards so distinguished in the service of the Emperor, was then Admiral.\*—

\* It has, says Hormayr, been asserted of this great naval hero, that in order to take service with the Emperor, he had in violation of all law, broken faith with the Pope and the King of France. This, he observes is one of the many historical errors, which may be proved by reference to any contemporary authority. Doria entered into no sort of confederacy, nor do we see how he could have done it. He had no paramount jurisdiction, nor was he in any position at Genoa for acting such a part, were it even his wish, which it was not. At the time when France so ill requited his services, he was labouring

Bourbon was thus compelled to retrace his steps into the Milanese, where the French King relieved from the apprehended danger which threatened France, had directed the march of a formidable army under Bonnivet, and was about to follow to take the command of it in person. A timid and dilatory campaign soon commenced, without any very important result. Milan was taken by the French, and Pavia, held and garrisoned by Antonio da Leyva on the part of the Emperor, was besieged by them. There was at this time much discontent amongst the Imperial troops for want of pay, and much jealousy and disunion among their leaders. Bourbon, piqued and mortified with the treatment to which he was exposed, sought permission from the Emperor to go to him in Spain, in order to solemnize the marriage with his sister the widowed Queen of Portugal, according to the treaty which had been made. This at such a juncture, and for many reasons, Charles

to free his native city from the evil rule of the Fregosi and Adorni, and to place it with its liberties under the protection of the Emperor, as well as to strengthen its interests by the possession of Savorna. For a certain stipulated period he had been in the employ of the Pope, afterwards in that of France, but according to the *Condottieri* spirit of the times, was at liberty to serve whom he pleased, when free from any positive engagements. Some negociation on the part of the Emperor with Doria appears to have commenced in 1527, and in the treaty on this subject concluded by the Prince of Orange in July 1528 the following condition is specifically inserted: *Più domanda a sua Cesaria Maestà, che l'obligo di questo servizio cominci al primo di giuglio al qual tempo ha presa licenzia del Re Christianissimo, to whom he had not bound himself for longer than duoi anni.*

did not deem expedient, and therefore refused his request.

The following letter from the Emperor appears to be in reply to this application.

MINUTE OF A LETTER FROM THE EMPEROR TO THE  
DUKE OF BOURBON.

Written at Valladolid September 5th, 1524.

“ My good brother !

I herewith inclose the duplicate of what I before sent to you by the last Courier. Since his departure, I have heard and considered well, the charge which you gave to the Sr. de Lurcy, with whom I have also talked over the said affairs, several times. He has alluded to the principal one, which has already been matter of discussion between us, and also to your wish of coming here. On both of these subjects I have answered in the manner which he will make known to you, and by which you will see, that I fully intend to keep, and entirely to observe and accomplish every thing that I have promised.

“ Concerning your journey hitherwards, it appears to me that it will be right to watch the turn our affairs may take, and to act accordingly : for which purpose I will apprise you of what is going on, and further make known to you what is best to be done for our common advantage, and for the discomfiture of our enemy.

“ Concerning the supply of money, I think the King

of England will not fail to make good his treaties and promises on this head. I am informed, that he has already sent you two hundred thousand crowns, and, as you will have seen by my last letters, I have commanded my Viceroy of Naples, and again do command him as expressly as possible, to see that there be no default in this matter, and to use all diligence to assist you in whatever you may require. This you will be assured of by the copy of my letter, which I herewith send.

“The Marquis de Pescara, and Don Hugo de Moncada, have made known to me, that it would be adviseable to send to you by the Galleys, a good number of Germans who are now in this country on the frontiers of Languedoc, as I before wrote to you. I am well pleased to do so, and to send them either by sea or land, unless they should be able to do better service in the place where they now are, by causing a diversion in the forces of the enemy in order that they may not all fall upon you. For this purpose, I have written to the Prior of Castille, our Viceroy in Catalonia, that if, with the said Gens d’armes from Germany, and the foot soldiers of the Country, he is able to do some good service, or to join himself to you, he should do it; but if not, that he should write to Don Hugo to come and fetch as many of the said Germans as he can convey to you in two voyages with the aforementioned Galleys.

“I have also written myself to the said Hugo, desiring him, that as soon as he hears from the said Prior and finds a fitting opportunity of doing so, he shall conduct

these our Galleys into the Port of Collioure near Perpignan. And further, that he shall convey the German troops to you, in as large a number as he can in two voyages, in order that you may be prepared, with so much the more advantage to repel any attack of our common enemy. I have likewise desired our Vice-roy to provide for the expenses of the said Galleys.

“ Concerning the Marquis del Guasto, what you have done is pleasing to me, and I have in consequence ordered his commission as Captain General of the Infantry during this expedition, to be forwarded to him, with the order to obey you as he would obey myself.

“ Regarding my own person, I would most willingly have gone to Barcelona according to your wish, if my affairs had permitted me to do so. But I must previously conclude the marriage of my sister Madame Katerine, and dispatch some affairs of this kingdom. Besides, I have for several days been suffering from an intermittent fever, which has hindered me from attending much to business. The said fever is, however, much diminished, and I hope with God’s help to be soon restored to health ! I make this known to you the more readily, first, because our enemies might spread a report of my being in danger, and secondly, because it will account for my not having sent you this Courier sooner.

“ Lurcy tells me, that you wish to know whether it is my intention, that you should use the money shared between the King of England and myself, for the ordinary and extraordinary necessities of the army, and

for the maintenance of your own household. It appears to me that you will do well thus to use it, for it is my desire that you should do exactly as you please, and as I should do myself in your place.

" The said Lurcy has also spoken to me in favour of Messire Garnier Guasq of Alexandria. I had intended, for your sake, to write to the Duke of Milan, desiring him to make the wished for abolition and restitution in his favour, but I have since had letters from the said Duke, acquainting me, that the said Captain Garnier has always been inclined to rebellion. Also that he was one of the accomplices in the conspiracy for putting him (the Duke) to death, and in many other evil intentioned things. It will therefore be more prudent to dissemble, and to delay the said affair for the present, lest there should be danger of stirring up any fresh disturbances in Italy : especially, since the said Duke is already labouring under some suspicion, as are also the Pope and other Potentates of Italy, with regard to the rumour which is now current, of our intending to grant the investiture to the said Duke.

" I am writing to Pace, the English Ambassador, who is with you, in order that he may look well to the contribution which the King his Master is bound to grant for the support of the army. I am also sending to the Duc de Monego, by his servant, a duplicate of the dispatch which he lately wrote to me. It is with great anxiety that I am expecting to hear from you. And thus for the present I have no other subject to communicate, save that I send you the letters I have

written to the towns of Provence, which you will forward, if it appears good to you.

“Praying God, my good brother, to have you in his holy keeping, I will conclude this letter.

Written at Valladolid

the v. September, 1524.”

Bourbon now determined on another step to increase his influence and authority and to secure a better chance of success in the field. He set off for Germany, where disposing of his jewels, and using all the credit in his power, and with the assistance of Fronsberg a military Partizan of great renown, and of ardent zeal as a follower of the Reformed Religion, he raised a body of twelve thousand well disciplined troops. At the head of these, in the beginning of the following year he reappeared in the Milanese, and again with the Viceroy and the Marquis Pescara took the command of the Imperial army, ready and anxious to strike a decisive blow, which a want of money and other circumstances rendered necessary to their keeping the troops together. The opportunity was soon offered them. Francis, who had rashly boasted that he would take Pavia, or fall in the attempt, contrary to the advice of his more prudent generals, but giving way to his own ardor, and encouraged by the kindred spirit of Bonnivet, whose counsels seemed destined to be fatal to France, would not decline the proffered encounter. The battle of Pavia was fought on the 24th (St. Matthias) of February, 1525, the Emperor's birthday. In

this great conflict the French army was utterly defeated, the King made prisoner, and the greater part of the chivalry of France destroyed. The personal prowess, of Francis in his last struggle, wounded, dismounted and amidst a host of enemies, as well as his gallant and dignified demeanour when physically overcome, is described by Du Bellay and other cotemporary writers, but with some slight differences of detail.

Pomperant, the faithful adherent of Bourbon, has been represented as one of the first to make his way through the crowd to the rescue of his abandoned sovereign. Throwing himself on his knees, he entreated him not to court certain death by offering a hopeless resistance, and to yield up his sword to the Duke of Bourbon who was at hand. "I know no Duke of Bourbon," replied the Monarch, "but myself." By this time the Viceroy of Naples, Guasto, and Bourbon had hastened to the spot. The latter hurried up to the King, and sinking on his knees humbly demanded the royal hand to kiss. On this being refused, Bourbon moved almost to tears said, "Sire, if you would have followed my counsel, you would not have needed to be in this estate, nor so much blood of French nobility to have been shed, as now stains the fields of Italy." The King turning up his eyes to heaven, exclaimed, "Patience! since fortune has forsaken me." The Viceroy then approached him, and Francis gave him his sword, which Lannoy received on his knees, and kissing the King's hand respectfully, presented him with his own weapon. Francis was conducted to the nearest dwelling where his

wounds were dressed. The first object that struck him on entering his bed room was a small altar or oratory on the side of the wall inscribed with the text from Scripture, “Bonum mihi quia humiliasti me, ut discam justificationes tuas.”\* (“It is good for me that I have been afflicted ; that I might learn Thy statutes.”)

A dispatch was immediately sent off to the Emperor to announce this great victory. Francis gave the bearer of it, the Commander Pennalosa, a passport through France, and charged him with his well known laconic letter to the Duchess Regent his mother. The fatal tale was told, and all was said in those despairing and touching words : “*Madame, tout est perdu fors l'honneur.*”

Three days after the battle the King received a visit

\* Brantôme says that after the battle the king was conducted into the Church of the Chartreux and that the first object which struck his eyes was this inscription from the 119th Psalm. De Thou in his memoirs relates this incident in a different manner. Travelling in Italy in the year 1573 he visited this Church, where he was told by the person who shewed it, that Francis the First, being made prisoner near the walls of the Convent which were partly destroyed by the canon, was led into the Church through a breach ; and that falling on his knees before the High Altar, at the moment when the Monks were in the Choir chanting the 119th Psalm, and on making the usual pause between the verses, at the end of the 70th, the King anticipating them recited aloud the following verse “bonum mihi” &c. If this anecdote be true, adds de Thou, “the profound calm which reigned in this religious solitude, even when the most fearful conflict was raging without its gates, and when all the fury of war seemed as though miraculously arrested on the threshold of the temple of God, how penetrating must have been its impression on the soul of the Monarch.”

from the chiefs of the victorious army. Bourbon who begged to pay his respects was not excluded. Francis perhaps might have been led to feel that Bourbon had received some ill treatment at his hands. This at least was not the time to exhibit resentment. He treated him with the respect due to his rank as Prince of the blood, but with cold and distant courtesy, without making or suffering any allusion to the past; whilst his adherent, Pomperant, was addressed with much cordiality, as one to whom the King owed his rescue.

The Marquis of Pescara is said to have appeared in mourning on this occasion, a strange and somewhat overwrought compliment, if such were intended. Each, it is clear, vied with the other in expressions of sympathy for the King's misfortune, and like high minded and gallant gentlemen, said and did everything in their power to alleviate it. Francis bore himself up with great fortitude, and assuming even an air of cheerfulness, talked over several points of the battle, and gave due praise to the dispositions which had been made against him, and the valour with which they had been executed. The castle of Pizzighitone was the fortress fixed upon with the King's concurrence for his present abode; and thither he was conducted under the charge of \*Alarcon commandant of the Spanish infantry.

\*In a letter from Richard Pace to Cardinal Wolsey on the subject of the French King's imprisonment, there is the following passage. "The Frenche King is conductyd into the castel of Pizigatone commytted to the custodie of the Capitayn Alarcon, a Spaniard, a verraye sadde man."

When the Emperor, who was at Madrid, received the news of this splendid victory, young as he was, neither his words nor his countenance betrayed the smallest sign of exultation. He would scarcely even permit the congratulations of the courtiers about him, and forbade all those public demonstrations and rejoicings which are customary on like occasions, as quite unsuitable to the present one, when a great Christian King had fallen under such misfortune. Bonfires and illuminations, he said, should be reserved for their triumphs over the enemies of Christendom, against whom, Europe soon at peace with itself, would be able to direct all its energies. Charles presently retired to his private chapel to pay his devotions ; and the next morning went to offer up his public thanksgivings in the church. His whole conduct on this occasion merited and called forth the admiration of all who witnessed it ;\* and though his subsequent dealings with the royal prisoner forbid us to ascribe this shew of piety and humility and moderation to the highest and

It was to this Alarcon that the Pope was given in custody after the siege of Rome in 1527.

\* Dr. Sampson, King Henry's Ambassador at the Court of Madrid, writing to Cardinal Wolsey concerning the capture of the French King, and the other prisoners, gives a detailed account of Charles's moderation and humility on receiving the news, and says in conclusion :

“ In summâ the Emperor hath usyd such demeanor in all thingis both be worde, deade, and countenance, and toward all maner off persons, that every wyse man hath ben most joyffull to see it *magnâ cum admiratione in ætate tam tenerd.*”

most virtuous impulse, we are hardly warranted in pronouncing it an act of mere hypocrisy. Charles had been brought up in all the strict forms of his religion ; and to this daily routine of life and a cold phlegmatic temperament which enabled him to control and regulate all his outward demeanour, a behaviour in itself so praiseworthy may in some measure be attributed.

But whatever his feelings might have been at the moment, he was not long in determining to make the most of his success. A council was held, at which the Bishop of Osmo, Frederic Duke of Alva, and the Chancellor Gattinara with other distinguished functionaries attended, to consult on the best method of turning it to advantage. The two former personages, in long set orations as given by Guicciardini after the manner of Livy, pronounced their opinions. The Duke of Alva insisted on the most rigorous terms as the price of the King's freedom. The Bishop recommended a more magnanimous course, as one more honorable to the Emperor, and most likely to secure a lasting peace, by liberating the King on such generous terms as would bind him to his friendship by the ties of gratitude, rather than by imposing harsh and humiliating conditions which Francis would take the first opportunity to break. This was a refinement of policy not quite in accordance perhaps with the genius of the age, certainly not with that of the Emperor. The former counsel prevailed, and terms the most exorbitant and humiliating were offered, which the King indignantly rejected. Some attempts at negotiation were nevertheless kept up ; and Francis in

fine made a proposal to comply with the following articles ; viz., that he would marry the Dowager Queen Eleanora, the Emperor's sister, and settle upon the issue of such marriage the Dutchy of Burgundy ; that he would pardon Bourbon and give him in marriage his sister the Duchess of Alençon now become a widow, and restore to him the whole of his possessions ; that he would take upon himself the Emperor's engagements with the King of England, pay a large ransom, and furnish troops to attend the Emperor to Rome at his coronation. These were concessions which did not in any way approach the unmeasured demands made upon the King.

During a period of inaction which followed, the mutual jealousies of the three great leaders of the Imperial army, the Viceroy, Bourbon, and Pescara, had leisure to increase ; whilst at the same time, their best co-operation could hardly have availed to suppress the mutinous spirit of the troops, exasperated as they now were at the still continued delay in the payments due to them. The danger however which they apprehended, lest the soldiers should seize upon the King's person in order to secure for themselves the ransom to be demanded for his liberty, led them to concur in the expediency of his prompt removal from the Milanese.

A council was accordingly held, in which it was agreed, that Francis should be removed to Genoa, and thence embarked for Naples\* the seat of Lannoy's Vice-

\* Sir John Russell, accredited Minister from King Henry, who was with the Duke of Bourbon and the army during these operations,

royalty under his especial charge and direction. Had any other destination been contemplated, especially that which did in fact occur, of his being conducted into Spain where the Emperor was, neither Bourbon nor Pescara, it may be presumed, would have consented to an arrangement so palpably to the advantage of the Viceroy, whom those two distinguished generals had always viewed with jealousy and had not scrupled to accuse of cowardice in the late battle.

Lannoy is said to have been a statesman of talents and address, and much in the favor and confidence of his master; and was therefore not unreasonably sus-

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in a letter from Milan dated 11th of May to Wolsey thus describes matters at this juncture :—

“ As touching the sending of the French King into Naples, whereof I in my former lettres have certified your Grace, there is nothing doon, for sometymes the Viceroy’s advise was to kepe hym still in Pischiketon, sometime to bring him to Myllan, and sometime to Naples, wherewith the Ducke of Bourbon was wel contented.” Russell complains that the French King had too much liberty, and that the prisoners were suffered to go home on paying their ransoms. He then goes on, “ I have spoken with the Viceroy in that matter, who sayethe, that he cannot do other, for they that have taken them must nedes deliver them for to have monney. Mons. de Bourbon hath likewise spoken to the said Viceroy divers tymes concerning that, and is not wel contented with hym, as well for suche sufferaunce, as also for that he entreateth hym not wel. The said Ducke of Bourbon wold have or this tyme goon in to Spayne, and there to have fornisshed his marriage saving only that he is desierous to performe all such promesses as he hath made to the King and th’ Emperor in tymes past. Here he lyeth at greate coste and charge, for his howse costeth hym a hundred crownes a day.”

pected of being capable, in presenting the royal prisoner to the Emperor, of laying claim to a greater share in the victory than of right belonged to him.

All three leaders accompanied the King to Genoa, where he embarked, under the care and direction of Lannoy, in French gallies manned by the Emperor's people, as had been appointed.

Orders were given to steer for Naples, but on the second day their course was changed. Lannoy gave directions to make for the coast of Spain. It is most probable that this manœuvre had been concerted between the Viceroy and his prisoner before their embarkation ; anxious as Francis was for an interview with the Emperor, as the most likely step to his release, an opinion which Lannoy is supposed to have encouraged.

Bourbon's anger, on learning the trick which had been played on him and his colleague, broke out in the following letter to the Emperor.

#### COPY OF AN ORIGINAL LETTER FROM THE DUKE OF BOURBON TO THE EMPEROR.

Written at Milan on the 12th June, 1525.

“ Sire !

The Viceroy of Naples, the Marquis of Pescara, Monsr. de Reus, the Marquis del Guasto, Antonio de Leyva, and

#### COPIE DE LA LETTRE ORIGINALE DU DUC DE BOURBON A L'EMPEREUR.

Ecrite à Milan, 1525. 12. juin.

“ Monseigneur !

Estant icy le Vice-Roy de Naples, Monsr. Le Marquis de Pes-

Alarcon being here, it was agreed, that the said Viceroy should conduct the King of France to Naples for the reasons already assigned to your Majesty by M. de Reus. Since that, however, the said Viceroy has done the exact contrary, and is conducting the King of France to your Majesty.

"I think it very strange that the said Viceroy should not have made known his intentions either to me, or to any of your faithful servants here. He has caused me much annoyance, and in this country there are many reports spread abroad to my dishonour. This, I am assured, Sire, is not according to your wish, and my firm intention is to continue to do you service as heretofore, even at the risk of my life, as I am in duty bound.

"Sire ! I much fear that this sudden journey may cause you to lose both the Pope, the Venetians and other Potentates of Italy, and that your Alliance with the King of England may be endangered. The said Viceroy has left me here without any money, or means of regaining

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cayre, Monsr. de Reus, le Marquis del Gouaste, Anthoyne de Leve et Alarcon, fust conclut que le dit Viseroy devoist mener le Roy de France à Naples pour les raisons que vous a dites Monsr. du Reus ; depuis le dit Viseroy a fait tout le contraire, et amene le Roy de Franse vers votre Majesté. Se quay trouvè byen estrange que le dit Veseroy ne m' an a adverty, et aussy parellement voz bon Serviteurs de pardessa. Il m' a fait grant honte tellement que en e pais san parle en beaucoup de sortes que se n'est a mon honneur. Se que suis asseuré, Monseigneur, que que ne l'entendés, quarma deliberation est de continuer a vous fayre le servyse comme tenu, sans y espergner ma vye, comme ay fait jusques icy. \* \* \*

the Germans, to aid our expedition against France ; and I think he is very glad of it, in order that he may try to compel you by necessity, to make any appointment that he may choose.

“ Whenever you please to listen to me, I will tell you things before his face, which will shew, that others, besides himself, must have had a hand in your affairs. During the course of all this business most people will think that your Majesty has forgotten me ; but this I have never believed, nor will I believe it yet, considering your great virtue and goodness, and my loyal and devoted service, which will ever remain such.

“ Sire ! I firmly believe that your Majesty will take such cognizance of him concerning whom I am now writing, as will be for the good and settlement of your affairs, and the contentment of all your faithful and loyal subjects, amongst whom I reckon myself. I have never complained of him before ; nor should I do so now, but that I consider it necessary to your service, for I was afraid, Sire, that you should think my complaints dictated by passion. But I tell you in truth, that we are about to send to Rome, to England, to Venice, and to Germany in order to break through the various cabals which are beginning to be formed, and which are of no small consequence. If I were able, I would go to your Majesty myself, but I see that it would be very difficult, on account of the great urgency of your affairs here — and so this shall be the end of my letter, praying you very humbly to take it in good part, and to keep me always in your good favor and recollection, in which if

it please your Majesty, I should wish to retain a place for ever.

“I promise you, Sire, that the Viceroy who is escorting the King of France, is not the cause of his being in your hands. He takes with him also the galleys of the King of France, which might have served me for my journey to your Majesty, as I have already written, had such a thing been either proper or convenient.

“Sire ! I pray our Lord to give you a good and a long life. From Milan the 12th June, 1525, and from the hand of your

Very humble and obedient Servant  
CHARLES.”

In the two following letters, the Viceroy gives the Emperor an account of his proceedings.

CHARLES DE LANNOY VICEROY OF NAPLES TO THE EMPEROR.

Villa Franca, 10th of June, 1525.

“Sire !

By the Seigneur Don Hugo\*, you have heard what could be drawn from the King of France up to the present time concerning the articles which it has pleased

\* \* \* “Je vous proumetz, Monseigneur, que le Vice-roy quil meyne le Roy de Franse n'est cause de quoy il est entre voz mains, il meyne aussi les Galeres du Roy de Franse lesquelles m'eussent peu servyr a aler vers votre Majesté comme ja vous ay escript moyennant quil eust esté raysonnable et convenient.

“Monseigneur ! je suplye notre Seig<sup>n</sup> vous donner tres bonne vye et longue ; de Milan le xij juin 1525 et de la main de votre tres humble et tres obeissant Serviteur

CARLES.”

\* De Moncada, Admiral of the Emperor's fleet.

your Majesty to send, as well as the state of our affairs in Italy, and what has been the opinion of M. de Bourbon and all those of your council in that country, on the question of removing the King thence and conducting him to Naples. On the 28th of May I wrote to your Majesty to acquaint you that the King had embarked the same day, and was ready to undertake the voyage, in a manner suitable to your reputation, and with a view to draw matters to a crisis relating to himself as soon as possible.

“Sire ! Since I have had the six galleys of the King of France placed at my disposal, they have been manned by your own sailors; and our united squadron is now composed of twenty good vessels well armed. As to the rest of the French fleet, I am quite assured, they will offer no sort of impediment to my passage with their King to meet your Majesty, and I am certain that it will be a matter of satisfaction to you with whom in fact it rests, to put as speedy an end as possible to the present uncertain posture of affairs, having no doubt as I have already written, that your Majesty has come to some determination either for peace or war.

“Sire ! I beg most humbly that you will command whither you will have the King conveyed, or whether it is your pleasure that he should be left at some place on the coast, on account of the want of horses which must occur for a journey inland ; or whether it may be your wish that I myself should hasten by post to your Majesty, in order to facilitate a speedy arrangement of the present affair, which, as your Majesty will hear from

me on my arrival, is an object of all others that I have most at heart.

“Sire! I send this bearer to your Majesty, begging you to give full credit to what Don Hugo may have said, and also to signify through the said bearer whatever thoughts or opinion you may think fit to communicate, and as speedily as may be convenient.

“Sire! May it please you to make known your good pleasure and commands, which I shall spare no effort most loyally to fulfil, praying God to grant you a long and happy life. From the Port of Villa Franca, this tenth of June, 1525.

Your most humble and obedient subject and Servant,  
CHARLES DE LANNOY.”

The following gives the Viceroy's reason for changing the original destination in the removal of the French King.

COPY OF THE ORIGINAL INSTRUCTIONS WRITTEN IN SPANISH TO MANUEL MALVERSIN ENVOY FROM THE VICEROY OF NAPLES TO THE EMPEROR.

11th of June, 1525.

“The reason why the Viceroy has changed his plan from that which was agreed on, when Señor Don Hugo departed from Pizzighitone, is, that he has learned the King of France is very desirous of coming to an agreement with the Emperor. To enable the said Viceroy to convey the said King in safety to Spain, there have been obtained six galleys, manned partly by the common

people of the country and partly by sailors. Of these galleys four belong to the Baron de San Brancate, and two to Fray Bernardino ; and the said Viceroy has newly manned them, having changed the gunners and sailors ; and for the greater security Montmorenci and the nephew of Andrea Doria are to remain as hostages in the power of the said Viceroy. Moreover, it is capitulated that the rest of the French fleet shall not, in any way whatsoever, harm or molest any servant or subject of his Majesty, which condition is to be observed until his Majesty's galleys shall have returned to Genoa ; but in the event of his Majesty not wishing that the said galleys should return thither, it is understood that the French fleet is bound to observe the above conditions, during the space of fifteen days after the said galleys shall have arrived in Spain.

"Therefore you will acquaint His Majesty that considering all the above circumstances, it appears to the Viceroy that in order to bring the negotiation to a good end, and in a way proper for the service of His Majesty, he, (the said Viceroy) ought to leave Naples and make the voyage to Spain ; for his object has ever been to do that which seems most fitting for the service of His Majesty, and for that object he has never shrunk from trouble or difficulty.

"Furthermore you will inform His Majesty that the explanation of the particulars of what the King of France intends doing, (in addition to those entrusted to Señor Don Hugo,) the said Viceroy will defer until such time as, please God, he may see His Majesty.

“ Furthermore you will inform the Emperor, that, please God, I will depart with this flotilla of galleys, and convey the person of the King of France to Tarragona ; and there I will await His Majesty’s answer to inform me whither it may be determined that the said flotilla shall proceed, for the purpose of landing the person of the King of France ; for to me it seems not desireable to enter Barcelona or Valencia (those being such large towns) without first obtaining his Majesty’s sanction thereto.

“ Furthermore you will inform His Majesty that after having landed the said King of France, I beg it may be so ordered, that I proceed forthwith to the place wheresoever His Majesty may be, to apprise him of all things that have occurred ; and you the said Manuel, will endeavour to arrange so that his Majesty may send me intelligence of all that I have to do in the above matters.

“ Furthermore you will acquaint His Majesty, that for this flotilla there is required at present, the sum of ten thousand escudos ; this you will say when His Majesty shall have determined on what I have to do.

“ Furthermore you will go to the abode of the Señor Don Ugo, to whom, and to Figaroa, you will communicate all the above ; and in company with them you will wait on the Emperor.

(Signed) DON CHARLES DE LANNOY.”

Villa Franca de Nica,  
Feby 11th, 1525.”

THE VICEROY OF NAPLES CHARLES DE LANNOY TO  
THE EMPEROR.

From Palamos, 17 June, 1525.

“ Sire !

I had dispatched Emanuel Malversin from Villa Franca with all speed to inform your Majesty, that I was on the way to you with the King of France, and to make known to you the measures which I had taken for his security on the passage ; and this morning I was writing to tell you further that we had reached this point, when Chateredon arrived with letters from M. de Rogersdorff apprizing me that the said Sieur Emanuel had been taken ill at Perpignan. In consequence, Sire, I have thought it necessary to send off Peralte with this intelligence, and I take the opportunity of writing to Don Hugo, whose representations respecting myself arising out of what I shall communicate to him, I entreat your Majesty to give full credence to. May it please you, Sire, with the least possible delay, to furnish me with instructions as to your good will in the measures I ought now to take, and the place where the King is to be conducted ; and whether it may be your pleasure that I should send by post an account of the reasons which have induced me to bring him hither, which will I think appear satisfactory to your Majesty.

“ Whatever, Sire, may be your intentions for peace or war, you will act according to your good pleasure ; but it is my poor opinion, that if you decide on making

war this summer, it is time to begin. Your army in Italy, Sire, is very expensive to keep up, and the money you already owe is eight hundred thousand crowns, as you will perceive in the accounts brought to you by Figueroa.

“Sire ! My greatest wish in this world is to be near your Majesty’s person, and to render you all the service in my power. This is the constant object of my heart’s desire, as I trust your Majesty is well assured. Be pleased to signify your will whether I should write to you as aforesaid by the post, and your command as to the disposal of the King’s person, which in all cases shall be as securely guarded and attended as hitherto.

“Sire ! The King of France readily submits to do in every thing what is agreeable to you ; and as I hope soon to see you, I will continue till then to keep charge of him myself. I will not go beyond the Port of Salo, and will remain thereabouts, till I receive instructions from your Majesty, which for many reasons I most anxiously await.

“Sire ! I pray God to grant you a long and happy life. From Palamos the 17th of June, 1525.

“Sire ! I have brought with me the Seigneur Alarcon, who is a faithful servant of your Majesty.

Your most humble and obedient Subject

and Servant,

CHARLES DE LANNOY.”

Reply of the Emperor to the foregoing.

THE EMPEROR TO THE VICEROY OF NAPLES.

Toledo, June 20th, 1525.

“ Tres cher et Feal !

We have received your letters from Villa Franca of the 10th of this month, and have seen the instructions you have given to Manuel Malversin, the contents of which have given us great satisfaction, as well as the arrangements you have made for the removal of the King of France. With regard to the desire you express to know our good pleasure respecting the place, where his person may be securely deposited, as well as the time of your own coming to us, and how the fleet you have brought, for which we have to remit ten thousand ducats, should be disposed of, we have to answer,

“ First as to the person of the King of France ; it is our desire that he should be well treated, and even better, if it be possible, than he has already been,—provided always that he is well secured ; and for this purpose three places have been named to us, which are said to be very suitable. The one is Patina near

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LETTRE DE L'EMPEREUR AU VICEROY DE NAPLES.

Ecrite à Tolede le 20 Juin, 1525.

“ \* \* \* Premièrement quant à la personne du dit Roy de France, nous desirons qu'il soit bien traicté, et encoires mieulx par de ça s'il est possible qu'il n'a été par de là, moyennent toutes fois qu'il soit mis en seureté ; et pour ce faire, nous ont été mis avant, trois places que l'on nous dit estre bonne, l'une est Patina prez Valence,

Valencia, another Chinchilla in Castile, for which it would be necessary to disembark at Carthagena, and the third Mora, which is a considerable distance from you and not more than five leagues hence. It appears to us that the said Patina, being situated in an agreeable part of the country, and being the nearest point to Saulo or to any port in Catalonia where you might disembark, would be the best and most secure place we could fix on for the King, always, be it understood, with a good guard about him, as usual, and as you know to be necessary. At the same time, if any other place should appear to you more likely to keep his person in greater safety, and not liable to inconvenience, you are at liberty to determine on this point as you think best, with this condition, that a sea port must not be fixed on, which might be dangerous. As to your coming to us, it is the thing which we have always most desired were it possible, and now that there is so good an opportunity we the more desire it,

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l'autre Chincila en Castille, pour laquelle fauldroit aller de s'embarquer à Carthagene, et l'autre Mora, qu'est bien loing de vous, car c'est à cinq lieues d'icy. Il nous semble, actendu que le dit Patina est situé en assez bon Pays, et que c'est le lieu plus prouchain du port, soit de Saulo ou autre en Catheloine ou pourrez estre desambarqué, que le dit Patina est le meilleur et le plus sur lieu pour mectre le dit Roy de France, bien entendu avec bonne garde, comme avez accoustumé, et que savez estre nessaire ;—toutefois si vous semble autre chose encoires meilleur pour tenir sa personne en plus grande seureté et obvier à tout inconveniant, nous le remectons à vous, desirant neantmoins que ne le laissez en nul port de mer, car il pourroit avoir trop grand dangier. \* \* \*

when you may be sure you will be more than welcome, and not only give us pleasure, but render us service. The sooner you come the better, as you will see by the dispatch which we believe Figueroa, who left us two days ago, will have already brought you, in which we inform you of many important things touching the affairs of Italy, that inasmuch as new circumstances require new counsels, it is our intention so with you to advise, conclude and resolve, as may best promote our service.

" After which it will be necessary with all diligence to make known our resolves to those in Italy, who ought to be acquainted with them, that no time may be lost in the execution of whatever, as has been intimated, shall in your presence and with your advice be determined on. As every thing therefore must remain in suspense till your arrival, we have dispatched a special courier to M. de Bourbon, begging him to await where he at present is the further communication of our intentions, and another also to the Marquis of Pescara, requiring him not to abate in his endeavours to fulfil the charge which you committed to him, holding out a good hope that his services will not be unrequited. Whether you think good to accompany the said King of France to Patina, or to whatever place he may be conducted, or to come incontinently to us, leaving the aforesaid charge to Alarcon, we commit to your own discretion ; begging you not to forget that your presence here is most desirable, and to take care, that the King and his attendants should have no lack of horses on his journey,

that he may be sensible of the interest we take in his progress, and of our earnest desire that his treatment in all respects may be good and honorable. We write to our cousin the Marquis of Brandenburgh now being at Valencia, that he should pay the King a visit on our part, and see that horses be provided. This letter will be intrusted to your care, and you will read it.— Write also yourself to the said Marquis, giving him your instructions as to what he should do and say, and among them, that he make his visit handsomely accompanied, as he well knows how.

“ As to what is to be done with our said fleet which you have brought, it is my wish on this subject also to consult with you in person, and to have your opinion and advice. It is our desire that before you take your leave of the King of France you should endeavour, if possible, that, besides what he has already accorded, in case it should prove not desirable that his Galleys should return to Genoa, the rest of the French fleet should abstain from making war or causing damage to any of our vassals or servants during the term of fifteen days after the arrival of our fleet on the coasts of Spain. You might indeed prolong this term to two months or less after the expiration of the fifteen days, but for this it would be necessary to take the precaution of sufficient security, and also that the six galleys of the King of France should remain with ours, as you have been at the charge of their equipment. With regard to the ten thousand ducats which you have thought necessary for the said fleet, we have inconti-

nently ordered them to be forthcoming, and will transmit them as soon as possible without fail.

“ For the rest, we have no doubt, but you will take care to make the King of France satisfied with the proposed movement to the said Patina,\* telling him of the honorable treatment he may expect, and of our good intentions towards an universal peace and his consequent enlargement, maintaining throughout this matter our own honor without sullying his, and preserving the good opinion of the friends of both. You may further assure him in the most courteous terms, that his present removal is only until we have time to come to a good resolution and conclusion of the whole matter. We write thus, because we think it proper that you should spare no pains to make him satisfied, and to keep him cheerful, that he may not take in ill part, or as unkind treatment, his being placed in the Castle of Patina, where his person, I repeat, must be kept in perfect security.

“ Instead of your Maitre d’Hotel, who has been taken ill on the road, we send Colin Bajonier; and we have now nothing further to say, until we hear from you, which we much desire; and for this purpose you can send back the said Colin, or some other person as soon as possible, and inform us of what you have done, in the aforesaid matters, and when we may expect you here.

“ Given in our city of Toledo, Tuesday the 20th of June, 1525.”

\* Sic in orig. Quere Patacina a city near Taragon?

The following is from the autograph Minute of a letter of the same date as the preceding from the Emperor to the King of France.

"It is with pleasure that I have heard of your arrival in this direction, because I hope it will be the cause of a good peace between us, for the great benefit of Christendom, the thing which I most desire. I have ordered my Viceroy of Naples to proceed onwards to me, to inform me of your intentions, and I have charged him to direct the same honorable treatment towards you which has been hitherto observed, or still better, that you may be assured of my desire to be and remain your true good brother and friend."

Such was the consternation, and so great the despair which paralysed France after the disasters of Pavia, that all hope of saving the monarchy would have been abandoned, had it not been for the wisdom and spirit of the King's Mother, Louise of Savoy, who had been left regent of the kingdom, on her son's departure for the army in Italy. With a presence of mind and energy which in this crisis made some amends for the violence of her passions, which had so largely contributed towards these misfortunes, she promptly applied every available resource for warding off the perils which threatened France on every side. She called together to her council at Lyons the Princes of the blood, and the Governors of Provinces ; and inspired all, by her words and example with hope and courage. The remains of the army were recalled from Italy ; the

arrears due to them were paid ; and by the most strenuous efforts new levies were raised. One of her first cares was to make an appeal to the generosity of the King of England for obtaining a cessation of hostilities. This was no difficult matter. Henry, though urged by the Duke of Bourbon who promised his allegiance, and the help of the army he commanded, to render him more than nominally King of France, was unmoved by these considerations ; and jealous of the increasing power of the Emperor, and not over confident in the good faith of Bourbon, listened to the overtures of the Lady Regent and soon concluded with her a treaty of Peace.

The following letter appears to be in answer to one from the Emperor, announcing the King her son's arrival in Spain.

June, 1525.

“ Monseigneur !

By the letter which it has pleased you to write to me, I have learned the arrival of Monseigneur the King my son in your country, and the good will and good disposition you entertain to treat him well, for which

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LETTRE DE LA REINE MERE DU ROI DE FRANCE  
À L'EMPEREUR.

Ecrite en Juin, 1525.

“ Monseigneur !

Par la lettre qu'il vous a pleu m'escrire, j'ay sceu l'arryvée du Roy Monseigneur et filz en voz pays, aussy la bonne volonté en quoy vous estes de le byen traiter, dont je ne sauroys tant que je

I know not how sufficiently to express to you my thanks and gratitude, humbly beseeching you, Sir, to continue to act in this liberal manner, which so well befits your greatness and magnanimity. As for the rest, Monseigneur, in pursuance of what you have required of me, I have given a safe conduct to your Courier, desiring to do your pleasure in this and all other things, as I would for the said Monseigneur my son the King, and this the Lord knows, whom I pray to give you a good and long life

Your most humble

LOYSE."

Charles's calculating policy and extreme cautiousness are strongly developed in the two following confidential letters to his brother on the affairs of Germany and Italy.

EXTRACT FROM THE MINUTE OF A LETTER FROM  
THE EMPEROR TO THE ARCHDUKE FERDINAND  
HIS BROTHER KING OF BOHEMIA.

Dated Toledo, 25th June, 1525.

" My Good Brother !

I have received your letters by the Commander Me-

desyre vous en rendre graces et mercys, vous suplyant humblement, Monseigneur, l'avoir en cela pour recommandé autant et de telle lyberalité que à votre magnanymité et grandeur apartyent ; au demourant, Monseigneur, suvant ce que vous m'avez mandé, j'ay bayllé sauf conduyt à votre courryer, desyrant vous complayre, et fayre pour vous en toutes choses comme je ferois pour mon dit Seigneur et filz, et ce sayt notre Seigneur, lequel je prye Monseigneur, vous donner bonne et longue vye

Votre humble

LOYSE."

neses, bearer of the present dispatch, and am much rejoiced at the good news of you which he has brought me. He has informed me (having sent his credentials in writing, as did likewise Salinas) of all the things that you desired him to say, in which I have found much that is good, for which I thank you cordially—and now to answer you thereupon.

“First—As to the movement of the Lutherans, and the evil they have done, and to all appearance mean to do ; it has annoyed, and does continue to annoy me bitterly. If it were in my power to remedy it speedily, I would spare neither my person nor my estates in the cause, but you see the difficulty there is in it, especially since I hope to be in Italy so soon, in order to take possession of my crowns as I have already written you word.

“When that is done, I mean to exert all my power in the extermination of this said sect of the Lutherans, nothing doubting, that awaiting my aforesaid return, you will provide for the encounter against them in the best manner you can, as you have very well done heretofore ; and besides the honour and merit you will acquire towards God, and the world, I shall hold myself much bounden to you for it.

“As to the dispatch that you ask for, concerning the necessary letters and instructions which would be required on the subject of your election to be King of the Romans, and your wish that I should let you know, how far and in what manner, I shall be both able and willing to assist you in gaining the Electors in the said election, I pray you to believe and to consider well, that it

would be very desirable both for your affairs and my own, that this thing should be done. Nevertheless you know and are aware of the condition of the said Electors, and how that I do not think all the gold of Spain could gain them at present, because of the difficulties which would be suggested by such people as you well know are far from being favourably disposed towards us. They would raise suspicions, *sizanie*, (discords,) scruples, diffidence and great jealousy both between the Potentates of Italy, and the several Princes of Germany. They would probably allege, and with truth, that at present I am myself in fact, no more than King of the Romans, and that on this account the election of another ought to be deferred.

"Under this pretext they would bring me into some quarrel which I should have difficulty in getting out of; whilst you would be involved in the same, inasmuch as my troubles so strictly concern you. Wherefore, my good brother, I advise you to keep this matter very secret, and not to let any one hear of it, until I have assumed my said crowns as Emperor.\* This done, you may be assured that I will assist you in the said Election, with all my power, and, by my presence then, I shall do more to the purpose with one golden florin, than could now be effected with one million. Wherefore, as aforesaid, the thing cannot be done till my coronation is over — for it would only be losing money, and spoiling all to attempt it at present.

\* The Emperor's Coronation at Bologna did not take place till Feb. 21st 1530, when he received the crowns of Lombardy, and of the Empire.

"I am at this time writing to several Princes of Germany, and addressing myself to them as having concluded to go shortly to my coronation, as you will advertise them more at length. I am not writing to them to prepare themselves, nor to come to meet me, because they would require money, and would afterwards hold me responsible for it. Wherefore, considering that they are not bound to appear at the said coronation, I have thought it better to send them no other notice of it, than one of courtesy such as my said letters contain. I have desired the superscriptions to be left blank and open, in order that you may have them filled up and directed to whomsoever you please ; and I think they may serve and assist in the readier dispatch and conclusion of the said Diet of St. Michel's, under color of the necessity of commencing at that time your journey towards Milan, there to join or await me—for I singularly desire to see you, and to enjoy the comfort and pleasure of your fraternal presence, and that we may confer together on all our affairs. Wherefore I will give you early notice of the time you should leave Germany, and it suffices for the present, that you hold everything in good order and readiness, as I have no doubt you well know how to do.

"The King of France is now here—I have caused him to be placed in the Castle of *Patina* where he will be well treated. He has offered me certain articles of peace, which I send you a copy of, and has promised to do still better. I will let you know the result ; and if it tends to my honour and advantage, and to the pre-

serving of my friends, I will follow your advice in coming to terms, well knowing that it would be very propitious to my interests to make peace before I leave this for Italy. If the said peace cannot be concluded, I shall order the said King of France to be kept here in all safety, and will deliberate on the subject of a war for next year.

“ In order to leave these kingdoms under good order and government, I see no other remedy than to marry the Infanta Donna Isabella of Portugal, since the Cortes of the said kingdoms have required me to propose myself for such an union ; and that on his part the King of Portugal offers me a million of ducats, most of them to be paid at once, in order to assist in defraying the expenses of our said journey into Italy. Were this marriage to take place, I could leave the Government here in the person of the said Infanta, who should be provided with a good council; so that there would be no apparent cause to fear any new movement.

“ According also to your good advice, I fully intend to take with me certain Grandees who have attained their majority ; nevertheless I will not hear of the said marriage without first being in possession of two things—one is, the consent of the King of England with the renewal of our friendship, as I have already written him word, and am expecting an answer ; and the other is, what I desire to have from you as my good brother, namely, your counsel and advice in the aforesaid matter, of which, before the arrival of the said Meneses, I wished to have expressly apprised you by the said Salinas,

for which reason I had already prepared his safe conduct for a land journey, but kept him back when the said Meneses arrived, which latter I have also detained, in order to acquaint you more perfectly with all my affairs. Although I had come to a decision thereupon, yet I would not put any thing into practice, when I heard that the said King of France and my Viceroy of Naples were arrived. You know that new events bring new counsels ;\* and I shall therefore leave my affairs of Italy in suspense until I have conferred with my said Viceroy, whom I had sent for. To tell you my mind I do not wish for war this year, but rather to attend to the said marriage, and to the said journey into Italy by sea, landing at Genoa. If you so advise, and that the affairs will admit of it, I should wish to conclude a good peace, and for this reason, my brother, I send you the said Meneses, praying you to send him back as soon as possible, with your said advice and counsel, as well on my aforesaid marriage, as on the journey, and on the articles of peace which the aforesaid King of France has proposed to me. If I come to any other conclusion with my Viceroy touching the aforesaid peace and the journey to Italy, I will inform you of it, but I think that the said Meneses, seeing that he is diligent, will reach you long before any thing worthy of a dispatch is determined on.

“ Touching the papers found in the chests of the King of France of which you wish to have a copy, the whole is in Italy. When I am there, I will communicate everything to you as openly as to my own self, and in

\* De nouveau fait nouveau conseil.

order that you may see the courtesies that pass between the said King of France and me, I send you copies of three letters which he wrote me, and of my answers.

“As to the Swiss, I thank you for what you have done with them, and it seems to me that it will be well to keep them in employ ; but as to giving them any money, it would only be lost, or ill-spent.

“On the subject of your being made Lieutenant-General in Italy, you and I will confer about it together when we meet, for it is my wish to do you service in greater things than this, and to make you a party in our affairs, so as to increase your honour and reputation, which are my own, being well assured, that you are quite able to acquit yourself creditably therein.

“I am sorry, that hitherto there has been no opportunity of doing so, but from this time forward, if it please God that my affairs should prosper, every thing shall be done according to your desire, which is one with mine in every wish and intention. As to the debt of the Duke George of Saxony, I again intreat you to have patience, and it will not be for long ; for if we can accomplish a favorable peace, you know that the said payment will not fail, and that great things will be done both by you and me for the service of God, the good of Christendom, and our own lasting renown. You need not call upon me to uphold your rights with regard to the Venetians, for I fully intend doing so, and should now have a good opportunity for the same, were it not necessary that we should continue to dissemble, lest

they should occasion us some annoyance, as you well know.

“ Touching the Ambassador of Muscovy, I am sending back with him the Count of Padua who was there lately, and have desired him to negotiate, and that they should both go to you, and that he should be guided by your directions.

“ As to the affair of Hannart, I have not yet given it due consideration, on account of the illness I then had,—I have desired the said Hannart to come here, in order to answer to this business ; and as to Michel Gillis, he is at Perpignan. You will do well to send me by the aforesaid Meneses some clear details on this subject, with such information as you have been able to procure, as I have already written you word, for the matter touches you no less than myself, so that I cannot allow it to go to sleep, or be forgotten. I intend to have it well investigated, and inasmuch as it is well known, and variously reported of, you had better send me as soon as convenient, a learned man, well instructed to this effect, that he may be able to answer whatever the aforesaid Hannart may say in excuse, or exculpation, in order to judge whether they are true and reasonable.

“ My good brother, may our Lord give you what you most desire.

Written at Toledo, xxv June.”

COPY OF THE MINUTE OF A LETTER FROM THE EMPEROR TO HIS BROTHER THE ARCHDUKE FERNAND.

Written at Toledo, 31st July, 1525.

“ My Good Brother

Since writing my last letter I have detained Meneses till now, that I might through him give you more certain information of the state of my affairs, and of the resolutions which I have come to with regard to them.

“ The Mareshal Montmorenci has been with me, and required three things. First, that I should grant a safe conduct to the Duchess of Alençon, sister to the King of France, who intends coming to me with full powers to treat of peace; secondly, that I should provide measures that the said King be brought hitherwards also, in order that he may be consulted on the conditions of peace, and it be thus more easily concluded; and thirdly, that I should conclude a truce for the time being, giving free passage by sea, and land to all ambassadors and couriers on both sides.

“ With regard to the safe conduct for the Duchess of Alençon, I have granted it, and sent it to the said Montmorenci, causing him to promise that the same thing shall be done for M. le Duc de Bourbon, to whom I have written desiring him to come hither, in order to hear what concerns himself in the settlement of the said peace; and I am sending my galleys to him for this purpose.

“ Touching the King of France, I have made arrange-

ments that he should come through Madrid, and if I go to Segovia to hold the Assembly there, as I hope to do, I shall desire him to be conducted to *Coca*.\* Regarding the cessation of hostilities, I have communicated on the subject with the Ambassadors from England who are here, and are empowered to conclude either a peace or truce, and by their advice and consent, the plan has been laid out, namely, that hostilities should cease till the end of next December, in which arrangement you are included, as you will see by the copy I send you. In order to its conclusion, therefore, it only remains to obtain the ratification of France which has been promised by the said Montmorenci in the course of the present month ; and of this result you shall be duly advertised. As to the affair of my marriage in Portugal, it remains in the same state as when I last wrote to you, waiting for the consent of England, as also for your advice on the subject. Besides, it is right that before my departure, I should know whether I shall have peace or war ; and seeing that there is every hope of the said peace being concluded, only that time is requisite for it, I have settled to put off my Italian journey till next March or April. Thus I shall have time enough to be married in September, by which arrangement also I shall be able to receive the said consent, and your said advice, and to ascertain the fact or failure of the said peace. On this account, my brother, there will be no occasion to send you the letters for the Princes of Germany, whom I shall address during my

\* A small town in Old Castile.

journey this year ; and I shall always write you an account of what takes place.

“ You may have heard of the practices of some of the Potentates of Italy adverse to our greatness ; in order to put down which practices, and considering they have caused the delay of my said journey, I have been counselled and have concluded three things with regard to my Italian affairs. Firstly, to consider the Pope’s representations, in virtue of the league which you know exists between him and me ; secondly, to reconcile the Venetians to myself, by offering to ratify the last treaty which was made with them, as if they had never infringed it, provided they agree to pay me at least 100,000 ducats ; thirdly, to place Duke Francis Sforza in possession of Milan, offering to send him his investiture immediately, on condition that he pays me 600,000 ducats — 100,000 now, another 100,000 when I go to my coronation, another in two years after, and the remaining 300,000 in three years. Also that he should renounce in my favour all right which he pretends to have to the Duchy of Bar ; that he does not marry without my consent, and that he provides for the distribution of the salt of Milan according to my directions, without oppressing his territory.

“ The said sums of money, both from Venice and Milan, will be employed in paying and disbanding my troops ; for, considering the said truce, it will be sufficient to keep the Spaniards, and my soldiers from the Duchy of Naples, under arms. Wherefore, my brother, inasmuch as any delay in the said affair of Venice would

put me to a heavy expence, by keeping from me the means of dismissing the said men at arms, I pray you on your part not to oppose any difficulty to the said ratification, but to consent to the same, as my Ambassadors will propose it to you — seeing that this is not the time to make any new movement in Italy.

“ As regards the aforesaid salt, I have done my best that you should have it, on the same terms that Pope Leo had. The Ambassador of Milan answers for it, that his master will cause your German salt to be used at the same price that the marine salt is now sold for in the Milanese State, and if your said salt is not sufficient, that it should be permitted him for the indemnification of his subjects, to provide them forthwith with other salt, as shall be necessary. I have not chosen to decide any thing in this matter, and have therefore delayed doing any thing till I had made you acquainted with what was said about it, in order that you may send me some one acquainted with the subject, together with your instructions on it, and I will take care that you shall have all that is possible, seeing that you deserve so much more, being, as you are, the cause of gaining the battle for the said state of Milan, and besides you know that my affairs are yours, and yours are mine.

“ I am sending the commission of Captain-General in Lombardy to the Marquis de Pescara, to be held until I arrive in those parts, and am keeping here, near my own person, my Viceroy of Naples, who may be of much service in concluding the said peace.

Written at Toledo, 31st July, 1525.

“Concerning the lands of Burgundy, I have to apprise you, that the Sieur d'Anguien is coming here for the purpose of amicably arranging the matter, as I have written to pray you to do, on your part. I therefore beg you to send some one well acquainted with your rights, and with full instructions from yourself, to arbitrate in this case, and the sooner the better; and I will have all your concerns cared for as much as if they were my own. Praying God to grant what you most desire, my good brother.

Written at Toledo, 31 July, xx.”

In reply to a foregoing letter of the Emperor.

THE EMPEROR TO THE LADY REGENT MOTHER OF  
THE KING OF FRANCE.

Toledo, 25th August, 1525.

“Madame the Regent!

I have received your letter by Mr. the Mareschal Montmorency, who has delivered his credentials; and as to the safe conduct which I have caused to be forthwith provided for Madame d'Alençon and her train, you may rest assured, Madame, that her safety will be well provided for, as I have already given orders that she should be received and treated in this Country not only as if she were my own sister, but with no less attention and respect than I should wish shewn to myself. I trust that the said Madame d'Alençon will come so well furnished with all necessary powers, that no time may be lost in the conclusion of a good and universal

peace, by which the rights and interests of each party may be so attended to and settled, that the journey of the said Lady may not be fruitless ; and of this you will learn more at large from the instructions which have been given to your Ambassadors.

“ Madame the Regent ! May our Lord have you in his holy keeping. Written at Toledo the 25 of August.

“ Madame the Regent ! I send the Sieur de Bossu, one of the gentlemen of my chamber, and the bearer of these, to solicit from you the deliverance of my cousin the Prince of Orange.\* I beg this favour in pursuance of what the King your son has frequently given me reason to expect, in what he has said and written ; and that the said prince be allowed to depart on his parole and mine, according to what the said M. de Bossu is commissioned to propose.

“ P.S. “ Madame the Regent ! Since the time when your Ambassadors first arrived here, it has been my intention to send also some fit personage to reside at your Court. I have now learned, that the Sieur de Praet, my counsellor and Chamberlain in ordinary, is far advanced on his way hither ; and as he is a courteous knight in whom I have the greatest confidence, and whom I have always found frank, loyal and entirely loving the peace and repose of Christendom, I have chosen him for the aforesaid purpose, and have

\* This Prince of Orange who had been taken prisoner, was the father of the afterwards celebrated protector of the protestant cause in the Netherlands, and founder of the Dutch republic.

commanded him to turn back, in order to go and fill the post of Ambassador to you, as long as your Ambassadors, Madame, may continue with me.

“ I beg you, Madame the Regent, to give him a good reception and treatment, whilst acting in my service, such as I would always have your Ambassadors to expect from me, who, I trust, have hitherto had nothing to complain of, and who will, as is my desire, have more and more reason to be satisfied.

“ Hoping, Madame, for the same consideration on your part towards my said Ambassador, and that our correspondence may be suffered to pass without hindrance, I conclude for this time, Madame the Regent; and may our Lord have you in his holy keeping.”

MINUTE OF A LETTER FROM THE EMPEROR TO THE  
KING OF FRANCE.

Toledo, 25 August, 1525.

Autograph.

“ My Viceroy of Naples is arrived, and with him the Mareschal Montmorency, who has delivered to me your letter, and acquainted me with all he has been

COPIE DE LA MINUTE D'UNE LETTRE DE L'EMPEREUR  
AU ROI DE FRANCE.

Ecrite à Toledo le 25 Aout, 1525.

NB. Cette Minute est de la main de l'Empereur.

“ Mon Viceroy de Naples est arryvé vers moy et avec luy Mons<sup>r</sup>. le Marechal De Montmorency ; lequel m'a baillé votre lettre, et dit sa charge, et ay esté bien ayse de savoir le bon desir que vous avés

commissioned to say. It has given me pleasure to learn the favorable desire you have expressed to expedite the negociation for an universal peace ; for which end I have willingly granted a safe conduct for Madame the Duchess of Alençon your sister, hoping she will come provided with all the necessary powers for the conclusion of so desirable an event, when we may then hope to meet. It is with a view to peace, that I made provisions for your coming into this country ; and when that is accomplished, we may take counsel together for the execution of what I have much at heart, a war against the Infidels, in which I doubt not, you will gladly participate. In thus doing, which I pray may be your desire, you will cause me to remain always your true good servant and friend."

Of the same date as the two preceding letters is the following to the Sieur de Praet.

THE EMPEROR TO THE SIEUR DE PRAET.

Toledo, 25th August, 1525.

"Cher et Feal !

Ever since the arrival of the Archbishop of Ambrun,

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d'abregier la negociacion de paix universelle, pour à laquelle parvenier j'ay volontiers accordé le sauf conduit pour Madame D'Alanson votre seur, esperant que elle viendra sy bien pourveue de tous povoirs pour conclure ceste paix universelle que lors nous pourrions nous veoir : à ceste fin j'ay pourveu à votre venue pardeça, et lors aviserons d'executer la bonne voulonté que j'ay de faire guerre contre les infidels ; à quoy me fais doute aurés bon vouloir et vous prie ainsy le faire et vous me obligérés de vous estre et demeurer vray bon serviteur et amy."

the premier president of Paris, and the other Ambassadors of France, it has been our intention to send also some suitable and good personage, trusty and confidential, to reside at the Court of Madame the Regent of France. Knowing that you are on the way to us, notwithstanding our desire to have you near our person to assist us with your counsel here ; yet, after long consideration, we find no one so worthy of such a charge, and to us so unexceptionable, and so wholly desireable ; or one in whom we place greater confidence, than yourself ; being well aware from experience, of your perfect loyalty and integrity, as well as of your love and affection to our service. On all these accounts, we have made choice of you, and appointed you to be our Ambassador to the Lady Regent of France, to whom we write a letter, of which a copy is enclosed. We therefore require and command, that wherever the said notice of appointment may come to hand, you will forthwith use all dispatch to betake yourself to the Court of the said Lady Regent, and there present our aforesaid letter ; that you will thence follow her in her journeys, attend to what she and others may say ; and report for our information all that is passing, and all news which may be to us of any concern. In like manner you may expect to receive communications from us. And in this service you will use the Cypher you have received, as most suitable at times, of which you will be the best judge. And since you cannot but be sensible of the great and important services which we require, and that we are not ungrateful, but are

always ready to prove ourselves your good prince and master, it is our will that during this embassy, you should receive the same wages and allowances as when you were in England.

“ We send you also a copy of the cessation of hostilities lately concluded, by the tenor of which, you will perceive, that you have the power of sending couriers whenever you please, and that the said treaty is in force only until the first of next year. It is to be hoped in the mean time, that we shall know what we have to expect, peace or war ; and it is probable you will not remain to the extremity of this term in the said embassy, for we are quite as desirous to see you again, as you can be to come to us, pleased as we surely are with the good and loyal services you have rendered us, during your embassy in England.

“ And further with respect to money either for couriers, or your own expences, you have only to inform us of the sums you want, for supplying which we will make immediate provision. And knowing, as we do, that you will have many things to communicate, we require and command, that as soon as you arrive at the Court of France, you write to us at length in Cypher, sending your dispatches by a courier, to which in reply we will furnish such answers, as shall be to your contentment, and not only prove our love, but the satisfaction we have in your services.

Given in our city of Toledo,

25th of Aug. 1525.”

Of the above date is a letter from the Emperor to Margaret of Savoy Governess of the Netherlands, who seems to have concluded some separate treaty without the Emperor's concurrence or authority.

Margaret Duchess of Savoy was daughter of the Emperor Maximilian and Mary of Burgundy, born in 1480. When an infant, she was affianced to Charles, Dauphin of France ; but this union was set aside by the subsequent marriage of this Prince with Anne of Brittany. She was then betrothed to John son of Ferdinand and Isabella.

On her passage from the Low Countries towards Spain she nearly suffered shipwreck on the coast of England ; and during this danger, the following couplet alluding to her double marriage is said to have been composed by her, and bound with her jewels round her arm :

“ Ce git Margot la gente demoiselle  
Q'eut deux maris, et mourut pucelle.”

The anticipated catastrophe was nevertheless escaped. She arrived at her destination, and was married. Her husband dying soon afterwards, she espoused in 1501 Philibert Duke of Savoy ; and in the 24th year of her age, was again left a widow.

After having refused other offers of marriage, she was appointed by her father, Governess of the Netherlands, and was confirmed in the same by her nephew Charles, on his coming of age. She is represented as a Princess of great beauty, spirit and understanding, and

one who, filled her important office with the highest reputation until her death in 1530.

In the time of Maximilian, she concluded the treaty of Cambray ; and was appointed by Charles, and invested with full powers, to negociate with Louise of Savoy mother of Francis the First, a still more delicate and difficult work, the *peace of Cambray*, known in history by the name of the Ladies' peace.

The day before her death she wrote an affectionate letter to her nephew the Emperor ; and her last words were, " Peace with France and *England*."

She was held in great esteem, and enjoyed the full confidence of Charles, notwithstanding the severe and sharp rebuke, which, on an occasion of some excitement and jealousy of power, is conveyed in the following letter.

THE EMPEROR TO THE DUCHESS OF SAVOY GOVERNNESS OF THE NETHERLANDS.

Minute of a letter dated Toledo, 25th August, 1525.

" Madam, my good Aunt !

I have received your letters by Richard, and quite approve what you were able to communicate to him in what your memory served you.

" I have received also a copy of the treaty of cessa-

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De Toledo, 15th Aout, 1525.

Madame ma bonne Tante !

" J'ay reçue vos lettres par Richard et bien veu ce que luy avez

tion of hostilities, which you have concluded. But I cannot conceal from you, Madam, that I have found it very strange, and very far from satisfactory, that this should have been done without knowing my intentions, and without receiving instructions on this behalf, and powers from me. I have found it convenient both for the advantage of my affairs, and the preservation of my authority as heretofore, to declare to the Ambassadors of England, and still more to those of France, that since the said treaty has been entered into without instructions and powers from me, I shall neither acknowledge it, nor ratify it, nor cause it to be observed.

“ Before the arrival of the said Richard, I was already in communication on the subject of a cessation of hostilities in all my kingdoms and countries generally, which I consider much more suitable than any partial or particular arrangement ; and have just concluded a treaty with the participation and consent of the said Ambas-

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baillé par memoire, ensemble la copie du traicté de l'abstinence de guerre que avez conclue par de là, je vous advertis Madame, que je trouve bien estrange et ne me scauroye contenter, que l'on ayt fait telle chose sans premiers scavoir mon intencion et en avoir ordonnanee et pouvoir de moy. Il a convenu pour le bien de mes affaires et garder mon autorité comme je l'ay ainsi fait dire aux Ambassadeurs d'Angleterre, et d'aventage à ceulx de France, et que veu que le dit Traictè d'abstinence avoit esté fait sans povoir ny ordonnanee de moy, je nele tiendroye ny ratiffieroye, ny l'entendz tenir ny ratifier, aussi par avant la venue du dit Richard, j'estoye desja en communication de faire la dite abstinenee en tous mes royaumes et pays geneuralement, qu'est beaucoup myeulx que particullierement, et maintenant la chose s'est conclude par l'intervention et consentement des

sadors of England (as principal contracting parties jointly with myself) wherein the articles are much more to my honor than they were in yours. In fact, there are two points in the latter so ill advised, as to condemn the whole. You bring forward England alone as an ally, (as does also the Duke of Cleves,) and promise to offer no assistance to the enemies of France, which is directly in contradiction with the treaties in force with England, and tending to call forth war against Spain and other of my states, in which case you become incapable of offering any assistance whatever. Thus, the Ambassadors of England know very well how to pretend that they cannot escape from the position in which they would be placed, which is in fact as much or more to my disadvantage than theirs ; and as to the French, they may fairly say that all which has been demanded has been granted them.

“ I am quite sure that this great error, Madam, is not

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dits Ambassadeurs d'Angleterre comme principaux contrahans conjointement avec moy, et si sont les articles à mon honneur plus que n'estoient ceulx que aviez conclu par de là es quels pour deux petits points mal advisez vous denommez Angleterre seulement pour allyé comme faites le Duc de Cleves et promectez ne bailler assistance aux Ennemis de France, q'est directement contre les traitez d'Angleterre et aussi revoquer la guerre contre Espagne et autres mes Estas ; car en ce cas ne les eussiez peu assister du costé de mes pays de par-delà, et scavant très bien dire les dits Ambassadeurs d'Angleterre qu'ils ne s'evahissent de ce que a este fait contre eux, car c'est austant et plus contre moy, et quant aux François ils dient que tout ainsi qu'ils l'ont demandé leurs a esté accordé par de la,—je pance bien que telle grande erreur n'est faites à votre faute ny coulpe, et

arising from any fault or oversight of yours, and that you have been led to understand, that there was some necessity for it: at the same time I am very far from being satisfied with those who have allowed themselves to proceed in this matter without my command, and who have presumed to counsel you on subjects of such grave importance, as ought never to be treated of without my knowledge and approval.

“ Madam ! I send you a copy of the cessation of hostilities concluded here, in order that you may cause it to be published duly, and at the time therein declared, and to be strictly kept and performed according to its form and tenor, setting aside your own as null and void, as well as the publications which may have taken place ; for it is my express intention, that it should not be held of the smallest force or value ; insomuch that if I had not even concluded a treaty, as aforesaid, here, I would not have permitted yours to be carried into effect.

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que l'on vous a donné à entendre qu'il y avoit justes causes, si ne suis content de ceulx qui se sont avancez sans mon ordonnance d'entendre a telle affaire, et que le vous ont osé conseiller, car telles n'y aultres grandes matieres ne se doyvent traicter sans mons sceu.

“ Madame ! je vous envoie copie de l'abstinence conclute pardeça, afin que la faites publier pardelà comme il appartient, et au temps declaré en icelle, et la faites garder et observer selon sa forme et teneur delaissant la votre pour nulle, ensemble le publications que en porez avoir fait faire, car je n'entends qu'elle soit entretenue ou ayt lieu n'y valeur, et quant bien la dessus dite faict et pardeça ne fut esté conclute, si n'eusse je souffert que la votre se pardelà et aultres en effet.

“Madam! May our Lord have you in his holy keeping.

Written at Toledo, the 13th of August.

“Further, Madam, I have lately sent a dispatch by sea to England, the duplicate of which I now send to Master John de la Sancho; you will be able to see it, and to pass it on forthwith, for the affair is very pressing, and requires an immediate answer; you will therefore Madam, do me a singular pleasure in expediting it by a proper messenger.

“As soon as I shall receive the courier sent by sea, whose expected arrival several of your letters have announced, I will return an answer respecting my affairs in that quarter, of which I have received no news of importance since the return of Cilly.

“In the meantime I beg you to inform me of anything worthy of communication.

“I have ratified the neutrality of Burgundy, as you desire, and I have included you, as well as my brother the Archduke and all your country and subjects in the treaty for the cessation of hostilities, which has been here negociated; and in all I may be able to do for you, for your affairs and your welfare, I shall always and most willingly do the same for you, my good Mother

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“Madame! ma bonne Tante! notre Seigneur vous ayt en sa Sainte garde.

Escript à Toledo, le xiii<sup>e</sup>. d'Aoust, &c., &c., &c. . . . .

and Aunt, as for myself, praying God to give you all your hearts desire.

Written at Toledo, the 15th of August, 1525."

The King of France on his arrival at Madrid found to his disappointment and sorrow that the Emperor, whom he had anxiously looked forward to meeting, with a view to a personal settlement of the terms of his liberation, was not there. Francis was lodged in the castle, and was for several days permitted to receive the visits of those, who thus sought to testify their respect and sympathy. His reputation for valor, generosity, and gallantry had gone before him. Ladies of the highest rank encouraged by the Queen Eleanora, sister of the Emperor, whose feelings revolted at the idea of becoming the price of Bourbon's treason, vied with each other in their endeavours to dissipate the ennui of the illustrious prisoner. The men also partook of the same generous disposition, indignant that one, whom they regarded as the model of chivalry, should be subject to a rigorous restraint, instead of being left at large on his parole.

All these attentions of the Spanish nobles were of course gratifying to Francis ; but the hard conditions at first demanded were no wise relaxed, and losing all hope of the Emperor's generosity, his health gave way, and his life became endangered.

It was when this news reached the court of the Regent, that his sister Margaret de Valois, more correctly d'Angoulême [Duchess of Alençon] having learned

the ill success of the first attempt at negociation, formed the resolution of visiting her brother in his sickness, and of undertaking the task of treating in person for his liberty. This distinguished lady was celebrated for her natural endowments, her wit, her learning and the gracefulness of her manners, which had rendered her the ornament of her brother's Court, and an especial object of attraction and admiration to the foreign Ministers, in whose society and conversation she had peculiar pleasure. Her well known devoted attachment to her brother was met on his part by the most cordial affection. What then could be more soothing to him in his captivity and sickness, than the presence of such a sister, whom he delighted to address as *sa mignonne*. and *la Marguerite des Marguerites* ;\* or more likely to increase the interest his situation had inspired, and to subdue the ungenerous feelings which sought his further humiliation ?

An early attachment is said to have subsisted between her and the Duke of Bourbon ; but this was an union little suitable to the views of her mother Louise of Savoy ; and in 1509, when in her seventeenth year, Margaret became the unwilling bride of the Duke of Alençon, the first Prince of the blood ; as such her equal in rank, but greatly her inferior in understanding, in instruction, and in merit. This Prince survived only a very few weeks the disasters of Pavia, to which his own pusillanimous conduct had not a little contributed.

It was of this lady, it will be remembered, that

\* The Pearl of Pearls.

Wolsey speaks, when ruminating on the proposed marriage of his master ;

“ —— It shall be the Duchess of Alençon,  
The French King’s sister—he shall marry her.  
Anne Bulleyn ! I’ll no Anne Bulleyns for him.”\*

This amiable intention of the Cardinal’s, the Duchess of Alençon had the good fortune not to realize ; and hence, it may be presumed, to have saved her head.

After a widowhood of two years, Margaret became the wife of Henry d’Albret, King of Navarre, with whom she lived in the most uninterrupted union. She had two children, a son who died in 1530, and a daughter Jeanne d’Albret, who succeeded to the crown of Navarre, and was the mother of Henry the Fourth.

Margaret, is represented by her biographers as carrying with her into Navarre, and employing, as she had done, during her first marriage at Alençon, those great qualities and talents which do honor to Princes, and benefit their people. It is, they say, through her care, that agriculture and commerce began to flourish in her country, as well as the fine arts ; and that justice and security were established. She built the Castle of Pau, and founded several hospitals. The asylum which she was at all times ready to afford to those exposed to persecution for the new opinions on the subject of religion, rendered her liable to the imputation of favoring heresy. So far indeed did this notion at one time prevail, that the Professors of the College of Navarre had her ridiculed on the stage at Paris, as a senseless person, whose

\* Shakspeare. Henry viii.

head had been turned by sectarianism. This scandalous attack, which excited the just anger of the King her brother, was not the only one directed against her. The Sorbonne unscrupulously designated her as an heretic ; and this body, then so formidable, instilled their zeal into the Constable of Montmorency, who endeavoured, though unavailingly, to rouse the King's indignation against his sister.

Margaret, in her hours of gaiety, and for the most part when journeying in her litter, as Brantôme relates, composed those light tales called the *Heptameron*, in imitation of the *Decameron* of Boccacio, tales full of spirit and imagination ; written with a freedom suited to the taste and loose morals of the age, but strangely inconsistent with another work which occupied her serious thoughts, *le miroir de l'ame pecheresse*. This latter work though of a devotional and even ascetic character, might in its way be deemed a little free, inasmuch as it incurred the censure of the Sorbonne, and was ranked among suspected publications, having appeared without the name of the author, and without the approbation of the faculty of theology.

When not engaged in study or literary composition, Margaret employed some of her hours of leisure in works of the needle and tapestry, and in conversation with the distinguished savans and poets whom she admitted to her intimacy, which gave occasion to the saying, that the Chamber of this Princess was a real Parnassus. She died in the Chateau d'Odos in the district of Tarbes, in 1549 ; and notwithstanding the

surmises to the contrary, gave proof to the last, of her attachment to the Roman Catholic Faith.

But to return to that period of the Duchess of Alençon's life, with which we have here to do.

The Duchess set out on her mission, attended by some of the dignitaries of the kingdom, even before the safe conduct demanded of the Emperor had reached Lyons ; provided with full powers from the Regent, and accredited in her own person to conduct the negotiation. About the time of her arrival at Madrid, the King's illness had assumed a dangerous character. The Emperor according to his Itinerary, given in another part of this volume, had come to visit him the day before. The entry is as follows, " On the 18th of September, the Emperor came from Segovia, which he had left on the 16th to Madrid, to visit the King of France, who according to the report of his Physicians, was very ill. On the following day also arrived the Duchess of Alençon, the King's sister, whom the Emperor received on the stair case and conducted to the sick bed of Francis ; after which the Emperor again departed, leaving the Duchess with the King her brother."

No great impression seems to have been made on Charles's sensibility or generosity at this touching interview. The Duchess was left to employ all her address in treating with cold hearted Counsellors, officially concerned, whose determination was made, and who abated nothing of their oppressive conditions.

There seemed to be some shew of good feeling on

the part of Charles, when he first presented himself to his illustrious captive, "Sir," said Francis, when the Emperor first appeared before him, "you come to witness the death of your prisoner;" "You are not my prisoner," returned Charles, "but my friend and my brother, I have no other desire than to give you liberty, and all the satisfaction you desire."

It would have been well if these consoling words had been followed by corresponding actions; but other affairs called him off to Toledo to meet Bourbon, whose interests also were to be considered in the arrangements pending with Francis. The marks of friendship and favor heaped upon this ill-fated and culpable Prince by his new Master, roused the indignation of the Castilian Nobles. It was on this occasion, that the Marquis of Villana, whose palace had been assigned as his temporary residence, thus dared to address the Emperor; "Sire, I can refuse nothing to your Majesty; but the moment Bourbon quits my house, I shall set fire to it as a place polluted by the presence of a traitor, and no longer a fit residence for men of honor."

It was on the final departure of the Duchess of Alençon, that the King's dejection returned; when in utter despair of obtaining his liberty, on terms otherwise than dishonorable to himself and ruinous to the interests of his country, he came to the resolution of abdicating his crown. This magnanimous determination was soon resounded throughout Europe, and redoubled the interest felt for his misfortunes. All the men of letters were forward in deplored his fate; and

Erasmus, a subject of the Emperor, had the boldness thus to plead his cause to his Master. "If I were conqueror," wrote this eminent man, I would thus speak to the conquered; "my brother, fate has made you my prisoner; a like misfortune might have happened to me. Your defeat shews the fragility of all human greatness: Receive your freedom; become my friend. Let all rivalry cease between us except that of virtue. In delivering you, I acquire more glory, than if I had conquered France. In accepting this kindness with gratitude, you achieve more, than if you had driven me from Italy." \*

This good advice was all thrown away; other notions prevailed, and Charles with his ministers went on in their cold heartless diplomacy, as the ensuing letters testify.

The first in order, is the minute of a letter from Charles to the King of France, written from Segovia a little before his visit to Madrid.

These minutes of letters from the Emperor, many of them autograph, were memoranda, to be worked up by the Secretary into a more epistolary form.

TO THE KING OF FRANCE.

Segovia, September, 1525.

"I have been informed by your letter of the news of M<sup>e</sup>. D'Alençon, your sister, having set sail, and hope soon to hear of her disembarkment, which I much desire, and which will give me pleasure. I have also

\* Du Bellay.

been informed of your illness, at which I am deeply grieved. On this account I send Don John de Cuniga to learn, as I hope, better tidings of your health. Through whom I beg you to communicate them to him who desires to be, and to remain your &c. &c."

The following from the Duchess of Alençon to the Emperor, is from a facsimile of the original, from which the translation is made. It is in so illegible a hand, that the meaning in one or two passages is only to be guessed. It was written apparently a few days after the Emperor's visit to her brother.

September, 1525.

" Sire !

The kind visit which you have been pleased to make to the King my brother, and the good words which the present satisfactory messenger has brought him from you, as well as the letters you have condescended to write to me with your own hand, and which I have shewn him, have given him so much comfort and ease, that I now see him out of all danger for the pre-

LA DUCHESSE D'ALENÇON À L'EMPEREUR.

Ecrite en 7bre. 1525.

" Monseigneur !

La bonne visitacion qu'il vous a pleu fere au Roy Monseigneur et frere, par la venue de Cetrop, sufisant porteur, et les bonnes paroles qu'il luy a portées avecques les lectres de votre main que vous avés daigné m'escripre, lesquelles luy ay Montréees, luy hont tant donné d'Allegresse et de consolacion, que je le voy par l'espoir qu'il a de

sent, rejoicing in the hope of a speedy termination of affairs, and the continuation of your entire friendship.

“ Whereupon, Sire, for fear of a relapse, which might prove fatal, and thus deprive you of so good and affectionate a friend and brother as I know him to be, may it please you to permit for the same cause that you kindly agreed to my coming here, that I should shortly go to you, in order that I may at once witness the union of two Princes, whom God has placed together upon earth, and endued with greater power and excellence than others, for some inestimable good. And this I now more than ever hope for.

Your most humble  
To the Emperor.

MARGUERITE.

It appears from the Itinerary before quoted, that “ on the 21st of September, the Emperor reached Toledo, where he remained till the 13th of October. Here

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bientost voir la fin de vos afaires et la seuretté de votre parfaite amytié hors de tout dangier pour cette foys.

“ Parquoy, Monseigneur, je vous supplye très humblement, afin que sa recheute, quy à la seconde foys pourroit estre sans retour, ne vous face perdre ung sy bon et affectionne amy et frere que je le say estre envers vous, qu'il vous pleze avoir agreable que suivant l'ocasion pour laquelle tant honnestment aves permis ma venue par dessà, je puise aler bientost devers vous, afin de voir en bref l'unyon des deux Prinses que je pance pour ung bien inestimable estre de Dieu mis sur terre les plus parfais quy onques feurent ; ce que plus que jamés espere.

Votre très humble

MARGUERITE.”

also the Duchess of Alençon arrived, with several French Gentlemen." The Itinerary goes on to state ; "on the second day after her arrival, the Queen Eleonora of Portugal after a conversation with her, travelled from Toledo to Talavera, upon which the Duchess, having staid a few days longer at Toledo, left it for Madrid, and from thence returned to France, without having brought the treaty to any conclusion."

This sums up all that needs further to be said of this amiable and fruitless mission.

The Mareschal de Montmorency, the Archbishop of Ambrun, and de Silva first President of Paris remained behind, as Ambassadors from the Regent, to try their strength with the Diplomatists of the Emperor, who were beginning to abate a little in the rigor of their terms, under fear of the King's abdication being persisted in, and accepted.

It is said by Brantôme, and du Bellay, and followed by subsequent writers, that Charles had taken measures to arrest Margaret on her way homewards, on the expiration of her safe conduct. This appears to have been stated on mere hearsay report, and consequently of very doubtful truth. From the extreme unpopularity of all Charles's proceedings with regard to Francis, and the indignation they had justly excited amongst the French in general, one cannot be surprised at any rumours injurious to his character being caught at and propagated ; but it would be difficult to find any motive for such a base and unmanly attempt. Brantôme where his own views, and prejudices, and gossiping pro-

pensities are concerned, is, on his own authority alone, worthy of very little credit. We may say this without injustice of a writer, who living under the auspices of Henry the Second and Catharine of Medicis, and speaking of that Queen and her Court, could describe it as "*vn vrai paradis du monde, et escole de toute honesteté et de virtu.*"

The two du Bellays, Langey and Martin, whose memoirs of these times are perhaps more frequently referred to and consulted than the German and Spanish authorities, were men of a different stamp ; both warriors and statesmen and men of letters. They served in the army of Francis at the Battle of Pavia, and each had a share in some of the important transactions of the period. Another brother was the celebrated Cardinal Jean du Bellay, who was employed on a mission from the Pope to Henry the Eighth, during the divorce embarrassments. He is said to have so far succeeded as to have gained over the King to an acquiescence in the Pope's judgment ; but his return to Rome was so much retarded by bad weather and other accidents on the journey, that all his address and combinations to prevent a rupture were rendered unavailing.

High and good as is the authority in general of these two distinguished writers, it is nevertheless to be remembered, that from their position with the Court of France, reserve and qualified representations were often requisite in their treatment of all delicate points, in which the credit of that Court was concerned. This

is a defect, which, in some respect, spoils the interest and damages the truth of what they relate. It has hence been judiciously observed by Montaigne, in speaking of their memoirs ; “ It is always a pleasure, to read the writings of those, who have themselves experienced how things ought to be conducted ; but it is not to be denied, that in the writings of these two Seigneurs, there is a perceptible want of that candor and frankness, which shone in the works of the earlier authors of that kind, such as Eginard, Chancellor of Charlemagne, Joinville, servant of St. Louis, and of later memory, Philipe de Comines. But here there is rather a *pleading* for King Francis against the Emperor Charles the Fifth, than a *history*. I do not mean to say, that they have changed anything as to the material facts, but that they are prone to twist a judgment on events, often against reason, and to our advantage, and to omit whatever may be called ticklish in the life of their master. This indeed may be considered almost a trade with them.” “ The great advantage,” he goes on to add, “ in this work, is its particular deductions from the issue of battles and warlike exploits, in which these Gentlemen themselves were concerned ; the words and private actions of some Princes of their time, as well as the affairs and negotiations conducted by the Sieur de Langey form subjects in plenty, well worth knowing, and which are here treated in no ordinary style.”

The Lady Regent on learning the catastrophe at

Pavia had lost no time in dispatching personages of the highest rank in the kingdom, to be near the person of her son, and to act as Ambassadors at the Court of the Emperor. These were the first President of Paris, the Mareschal de Montmorency, and the Archbishop of Ambrun; from the latter of whom is the following spirited remonstrance on the arrest of a courier.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF AMBRUN TO THE GRAND MAITRE  
(THE SIEUR DE NASSAU.)

Madrid, 7th September, 1525.

“Sir!

When the Mareschal de Montmorency and I were lately deputed by the King to go to the Emperor at Toledo, they dispatched a courier hence, for the express purpose of acquainting Madame the Regent, and Madame the Duchess of our departure; and at the same time the Viceroy wrote to Rogendorf to request his passport. We have nevertheless been informed that the said courier was arrested on his journey, in what place it does not appear, and deprived of his dispatches, which were taken and sent to the Emperor.

“This is directly contrary to what his Majesty has always declared, and even lately repeated to the said Seigneur Mareschal, that in such cases there was no need whatever of a safe conduct, and that every courier might pass with safety and without interruption.

“Sir! It appears to me this is not the way to smooth existing difficulties, as his Majesty has wished and has always expressed himself. I have to request therefore,

that you will please to remonstrate on this occasion, and to beg his Majesty will not take it strange or amiss, if M. de Bossu should not return as speedily, as he may have calculated, for I will answer for it, if the present courier has been really arrested, M. de Bossu, and others need not expect any better treatment.

“At the same time, I cannot conceal my opinion, that this has been the work of some underlings true to their trade, who would be very sorry to see that peace and amity established, which their masters would be so happy to accomplish. Thus then I will conclude with my best recommendations to your good favor. Sir ! I beg our Lord to grant you a happy life !

“From Madrid, this 7th of September, by the hand of your servant

and good Cousin,

The Archbishop of Ambrun.”

“Since four o'clock this morning the King has had a relapse of fever, of which M. the Mareschal would have written for the information of the Viceroy, but is prevented by his attendance on the King. He humbly recommends himself to his good favor and to yours, as I also beg to do.”

The following from the Sieur de Praet whose appointment as Ambassador to the Lady Regent of France is announced in a previous letter, seems to justify, by the sagacity and tact manifested in his first interview with

the Regent on presenting his credentials, the high consideration in which he was held by the Emperor.

His report on the conversation which then took place, and his opinions on the peace between France and England, as well as other observations relating to the existing state of affairs between the Emperor, and the Kings of England and of France, with his keen strictures on Wolsey's motives, give clear indications of the judicious and penetrating politician.

#### FROM THE SIEUR DE PRAET TO THE EMPEROR.

From Lyons the 15th October, 1525.

“Sire !

In compliance with your commands to inform your Majesty of all which has occurred during my journey up to the present time, when I have just received your letter of exchange for a thousand ducats, it is my duty to state, that on the second day of this month I left Perpignan, and on the following arrived at Narbonne. Here I was received on my arrival by the Sieur de Ba-

#### DU SIEUR DE PRAET À L'EMPEREUR.

Ecrite à Lyons, le 15 Octobre, 1525.

Une partie de la lettre est écrite en chiffre.

“Sire ! pour ensuivant vostre commandement advertir vostre Majesté de ce que m'est survenu pendant mon voyage jusques à ceste heure, incontinent que Eulx receu les lettres de change de mil ducas, que fust le second jour de ce mois, je me partys de Perpignan, et arrivay le lendemain à Narbonne où fus traité, de premiere arrivée,

silacto, Governor of the said city coldly enough, although before my departure he made me very fine offers of civility, with a present of wine, and the services of one of his Gentlemen, to conduct me two or three day's journey on my way.

“ Having arrived yesterday, Sire ! at Valence, a city about sixteen leagues hence, where I was met by the present bearer ; and having seen what your Majesty was pleased to write to me by him, I sent him on immediately to this place, in order both to hasten the safe conduct of the Germans, and also to apprize the Treasurer Robertet or some other of the gentlemen in this quarter, as if of his own accord, of my coming. My object was to ascertain, whether they would send any one to meet me, a compliment as I heard from the said courier, which had not been neglected in the case of M. de Vendosme. This, however, had no result, for I made

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du S<sup>r</sup> de Basilacto, Gouverneur de la ditte ville, assez froidement, toutes fois avant que m'en partir il me feist tout plain de belles offres, me presenta de son vyn, et me donna ung gentilhomme des siens pour me conduyre deux ou trois journées ; qui a esté toute la conduyte que j'ay eut par tout le chemin, si ce n'a esté d'aucuns gentilshommes que j'ay rencontré que d'Eulx mesmes m'ont fait compagnie.

“ Estant Sire, arrivé avanthier à Valence qu'est une ville à xvij. lieues d'ycy, arriva le present porteur, lequel apres avoir veu ce qu'il vous pleut par luy m'escripre, feiz soubyt partir pour ceste ville, pour d'autant plus haster le fait du saufconduyt des allemans, et aussi pour advertir comme de soy mesmes le Tresorier Robertet ou quelcun autre des S<sup>rs</sup> de pardeça de ma venue, affyn de veoir si lon m'envoyeroit quelcun au devant, ce que le dit Courrier a fait mesment à Mons. de Vendosme, selon qu'il ma compté ; combien que riens ne s'en est

my entry unconducted by any living person. As soon as I had reached my lodgings, an hostellerie which I have long been in the habit of frequenting, I sent one of my attendants to the aforesaid Treasurer Robertet, to make him acquainted with my arrival, and to beg that he would communicate the same to Madame the Regent. This he incontinently did, and expressed great regret that I had not met with a more honorable reception, swearing with a great oath, that Madame had no idea that I was so near, and adding many fine phrases. Certes, Sire, it would seem he spoke truth, to judge from the good cheer and great attentions I received from her, and through her orders, after she had been informed of my arrival ; for although it was then not earlier than eight o'clock at night, she immediately dispatched her Chevalier of Honor M. de la Roche, who had formerly been Ambassador in Flanders at the Court of your Majesty, and along with him a Maitre d'Hotel of the King.

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suyvy, ains suis entré sans aucune conduite de personne vivant ; deiz que fus arrivé en mon logys, qu'est une hostelerye ou de loing temps j'ay accoustumé de logier, j'envoyay l'ung de mes serviteurs vers le dit Tresorier Robertet l'advertisir de ma venue, et luy prier le faire scavoir à Madame, ce qu'il feist incontinent et demonstra avoir ung très gros regret que n'avoie esté aultrement honnouré, et receully, et jura gros serment que Madame ne me pensoit point estre si pres d'Elle, avec plusieurs aultres belles parolles ; et certes Sire, je tiens qu'il disoit verité pour la bonne chiere et honneste acceul qu'ellè ma fait faire, et fait Elle mesmes depuis, car deiz qu'elle sceut ma venue, non obstant qu'il estoit bien huyt heures du soir, Elle m'envoya soubyt son Chevalier d'honneur nommé Mons<sup>r</sup> de la Roche, que aultresfois a esté Ambassadeur en Flandres vers votre Majesté, et avec luy

This Gentleman, making many excuses from Madame for not having been earlier apprized of my arrival, sent over to me a supply of wine which he has continued to do every day, both for dinner and supper. Next morning her Majesty's harbingers were sent to provide a lodging near her abode and according to my choice, and all this was accompanied with many other courtesies and fair speeches.

“ This day after dinner, Sire, the aforesaid lady having sent for me by the said Sieur de la Roche, the King's Maitre d'Hotel, and some other Gentlemen, I found her attended by the Cardinals of Lorraine, and Bourbon, the Sieur de Vendosme and de Lautrec and several others, both French and Italian ; when having made my reverence, and presented my credentials, she drew me aside and listened to what I had to say on the part of your Majesty in fulfilment of my charge ; with which she

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ung maistre dostel du Roy pour me bien viegner et faire ses excuses de ce qu'Elle n'avois esté advertir de ma si briefve venue et m'envoya fors flacons de vyn, et continue le mesmes jusques à maintenant, chascun disner et chascun souper, m'a aussi envoyé à mon lever ses fourriers qui m'ont baillé tel logys que j'ay volu fere choisir et bien prochain d'Elle, et au demeurant tout plain de courtoisies et honestes paroles.

“ A cest apredyner Sire ! ma ditte Dame ma envoye querir par les dits S<sup>rs</sup> de la Roche et maistre dostel du Roy, avec aucuns aultres gentilshommes, et l'ay trouvé accompagne de Messrs. les Cardinaux de Lorraine et Bourbon, les S<sup>rs</sup> de Vendosme, de Lautrect et grant nombres d'aultres, tant François que Italyens, et apres luy avoir fait la Reverence et baillée mes lettres de credence. Ella m'a thiré à part, et au long oy ce que luy ay dyt de la part de votre ditte Majestê, en ensuyvant le contenu de ma charge, dont Elle s'est demonstrée mer-

expressed herself wonderfully rejoiced. She then recounted to me the great kindness which you had been pleased to shew the King her son, in having visited him in his dangerous illness, with so much familiarity, using such gracious and courteous language, that in her opinion, next to God's mercy, there was nothing in the world could have contributed so much to her son's recovery, as this visit. She then took up the subject of your handsome reception of the Duchess of Alençon, as well as all in general of this nation; and on this point she reiterated her excuses for not having made herself earlier acquainted with my coming; for your Majesty she observed, never failed so to conduct yourself in matters of this particular, that none of those who were sent to you ever returned without being full of your praises.

“ And as to the arrival of the aforesaid lady, M<sup>e</sup>. d' Alençon at Toledo; to come to the subject in hand,

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veilleusement resjouye et ma compté au long la grant humanité qu'il vous a pleu monstrar au Roy son fils, de l'avoir esté visité en sa grant maladie si familiерement et avec si gracieux et honestes propos, que a son avis après la grace de Dieu, ny a chose en ce monde qui ayt donné guerison au dit Seigneur Roy que la dite visitacion, en apres Elle est tombée sur le bon receul que votre Majesté a fait à Madame la Duchesse d'Alençon et generalement à tous ceulx de ce Royaume, et sur ce point me fist longues excuses de ce qu'elle n'avoit esté myeulx advertye de ma venue, car votre Majesté en cest endroit en usé desorte que tous ceulx qui viegnent de pardela ne s'en scaivent assez l'houer.

“ Et quand au point de la venue de ma ditte Dame d'Alençon à Toledo pour en commencer à desvelopper les matieres, la ditte Dame

Madame the Regent, apparently speaking from her own feelings and those of the King, observed, that propositions the most ample and the most honorable would be made. She trusted that these would be met in the same spirit, and that your Majesty according to your great virtue and magnanimity, would not require any sacrifices from the said King, inconsistent with his honor; but that arrangements might be made of such a nature as to secure a perpetual peace and amity between you. After several other observations tending to the same end, I perceived, Sire, that she was ready to enter upon the subject of the surrender of Burgundy, to which many difficulties will be opposed by the States of the Kingdom; but from the ardent desire Madame the Regent has, again to see her son the King, no obstacle would be offered on her part, if her consent alone were necessary.

“ In conclusion, Sire, it was evident that Madame would willingly have entered with me into more parti-

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Regente ma semblablement respondu que du costé du Roy que du sien seront proposées choses si honnestes que pour souffrire esperant que du vostre sera fait le semblable, et que votre d<sup>e</sup> Majesté usera de la vertu de magnanimité en ne veullant constraindre audit Seign<sup>r</sup> Roy faire chose contre son honneur, ains appainter avec luy de si bonne sorte que la Paix et amytié seront perpetuelles entre vous deux, avec plusieurs aultres propos tendans à la mesmes fyn; et tiens Sire, qu'elle voulloit venir sur le propos de la rendicion de Bourgoigne à quoy je tiegns aura grosse difficulté mesmement les Estaz de ce Royaulme, et croy que pour l'envie que Madame la Regente a de ravoir le Roy, Elle y consentiroit si ne tenoit que à elle, et pour conclusion, Sire, la ditte Dame Regente eust a moy l'advis bien entré avec moy en propos

culars, had I been disposed to give her the occasion ; but finding that I persisted to speak on matters only in a general way, she did not attempt any thing further ; and for my own part I could not do otherwise, seeing how inconvenient it would have been to enlarge on affairs which have occurred since the capture of the King of France. In fact, Sire, on all the points which had come before us, I answered the said Lady Regent in a manner as little painful to her feelings as possible, insomuch that to all appearance she was not dissatisfied.

“ With regard to the Ambassadors from England, there are two here, as I have heard, not from the Regent, for she did not say a word about them, but from other quarters, and one of them is Auditor to the Apostolic chamber, and the other is M. Gregory Casal. The final declaration of peace has been published on all the frontiers of this country, and even in this city ; and, if I have not been misinformed, they have sent

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plus particuliers si je luy en eusse commencé a parler, mais voyant que je persistois en termes generaux Elle y demora aussi, et de ma part ny povoir faire aultre chose, veu que ne scay riens a parler des affaires survenuz depuis la prinse du Roy de France.

“ Sur tous les propos susdits, Sire, respondis à la ditte Dame au moings mal que me fust possible, desorte que au Semblant quelle tenoit, Elle s'entint pour contente.

“ Au regard des Ambassadeurs d'Engleterre il en y a deux comme j'ay entendu non pas de la ditte Dame Regente car Elle ne m'en a parlé ung seul mot, mais aultres m'ont dit qu'ils y sont, et est l'ung l'auditeur de la chambre Apostolique et l'autre Messire Gregoire Casal ; la Paix finale entre ces deux Royaulmes a esté publyée par toutes les frontieres de ce Pays et mesment en ceste ville, et si cuide estre bien informé que l'on ayt envoye d'ycy en Engleterre, n'a pas

hence into England within the last three weeks one hundred thousand crowns as the first instalment of a payment due from this Court. The remainder, I suppose, will be paid in paper, and fine speeches ; but whatever may be the result of this peace, to you it comes rather mal à propos, as your Majesty knows better than I ; and the more so, since the Cardinal has thought proper to send hither two Italians as Ambassadors, for the purpose, as it would seem, of again disturbing the affairs of Italy. May it please you, Sire to write me your instructions by the first opportunity, how I am to demean myself towards these Ambassadors or others sent hither on the part of the King of England. I have at other times expressed my opinion to your Majesty, that the said Cardinal is aiming at two ends, the one under the shadow and pretence of war, to raise money for the King of England and throw the principal charge on your Majesty ; the other to keep

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trois sepmaines, cent mil Escus pour commencement des payemens de leur deu, je croy que la reste se payera en papier et belles parolles, mais comment qu'il en soit la ditte Paix vous vient très mal à propos quant votre Majesté entend trop mieulx que moy, et d'avantage puis le Cardinal a ycy envoyé deux ytaliens pour Ambassadeurs, pourroit sembler qu'il vouldroit de rechief tacher a embrouiller les affaires de la ditte Italie ; il vous playra sur ce m'escrise par le premier, comme je me devray conduire avec les dits Ambassadeurs ou autres qui venir pourroient cy apres, de la part du Roy d'Angleterre.

“ J'ay aultres fois escript a vostre Majesté que à mon avis le dit Cardinal pretendoit à deux fins ; l'une de soubs l'ombre de Guerre lever pour le Roy d'Angleterre grans deniers, et jettter le principal frais sur votre Majesté, l'autre fin est de tenir le Roy de France et

you, Sire, and the King of France in perpetual warfare or distrust of each other, with this view, that he may make sure of good treatment on both sides. Your Majesty may easily conceive from what happens every day, how far this may be true ; nevertheless, speaking under correction, it appears to me very necessary that, before King Francis is suffered to be at liberty, a sufficient assurance should be given either by some strict obligation or some binding alliance, that he be rendered for the future unable to molest, or do you harm. Which of these methods is fittest and most practicable, your Majesty is the best judge ; and therefore on this point it is useless to speak further.

“ I must not forget, Sire, also to inform your Majesty, how Madame the Regent has spoken to me on the subject of M. de Bourbon, telling me that she had been apprized of his arrival at Barcelona, and yet she could not suppose that as Madame her daughter was

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vous Sire, en perpetuelle Guerre ou deffidence ensemble pour ce chemin estre asseure et bien traicté des deux Coustez. Votre ditte Majesté peult conchevoir aux choses qui journellement occurrent ce que en est à la verité, par quoy parlant soubs correction, peult sembler estre bien necessaire, de avant que le Roy françois sorte de prison, tellement vous asseurer de luy, soit par la voye de force ou de bonne et estoicte alliance, que à l'advenir il ne vous puist nuyre ou mal fere, votre Majesté cognoit trop myeulx que moy lequel des deux chemyns est le plus apparant et faisable, parquoy m'en tiendray d'en parler plus avant. Je ne veulx aussi oblier, Sire, de vous escripvre comment ma ditte Dame la Regente ma tenu propos de Mons<sup>r</sup>. de Bourbon, me disant qu'elle estoit advertye de son arrivée à Barcellone, mais qu'elle ne croit point puisque Madame sa fille

already with you, you would delay entering upon business till he made his appearance, inasmuch as it related to the most important matters touching an universal peace; in which your Majesty and the King her son were the only parties concerned. As to M. de Bourbon, she added, his was only an individual interest, and the restitution he sought could be easily effected, as the King had no need of his property or possessions. To this I made no other answer, than to express my conviction that your Majesty would so conduct yourself in every particular, as to leave no cause whatever for dissatisfaction. I was unwilling to enter further into this matter; for without more ample information as to your good pleasure, it was impossible to answer otherwise, any more than on another subject which she presently broached, giving me to understand that all the other Princes and Potentates of Christendom en-

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estoit devers vous, que n'entrerïés tousjours avant en besoigne, sans attendre son arrivée devers vous; en tant que les grosses matieres qu'estoient a desmeler, asscavoir de la paix universelle ne touchent en rien à luy, ains seulement a vous et au Roy son fils, et que son affaire n'estoit que ung incident particulier disant meantmoings que en tant qu'il touchoit la restitucion de son bien, que cela se feroit bien, car le Roy n'avoit besoing du dit bien; surquoy ne luy respondys aultre chose sinon que, ne faisons doublet votre Magesté userat en tout desorte que chascun pour la raison s'en deveroit contenter, et ne voluz entrer en ce propos plus avant; car ce ne sont choses pour y respondre sans estre amplement informé sur ce de votre bon plaisir, et en la mesme sorte en usay au mesmes instant d'ung aultre propos quelle me tint, me donnant assez à entendre, que toute la reste des Princes et Potentats de la Chrestienté estoient en

tertained a marvellous jealousy and fear, lest a good and lasting peace should be established between you two; a circumstance to which the rest would not be a little averse. And this, Sire, I consider highly probable, since all the renown and distinction of the said Princes and Potentates rest solely in the dissensions between your Majesty and the said Seigneur King, as has been perfectly clear from the commencement of this contest to the present moment."

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A few further particulars connected with the Duchess of Alençon's mission to Madrid, will appear in the subjoined letter of Perrenot de Granvelle to the Duchess of Savoy, dated from Toledo soon after her departure.

This Nicholas Perrenot was the son of a blacksmith at Besançon, and had raised himself by his own merit to be successor to Gattinara, in the Belgian Cabinet. For twenty years he continued Privy Councillor, Keeper of the Seals, and confidant of Charles, to whom his natural reserve and seriousness were more congenial than Gattinara's Italian vivacity. With a pleasing exterior, he combined an uncommon knowledge of affairs, and a remarkable power of discriminating between what was essential and necessary, and what was contingent

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une merveilleuse jalouse et crainte que quelque bonne Paix et union se trouvast entre vous deux, et qu'elle estoit assez sollicitée au contraire; qu'est, Sire, chose assez creable, entant que toute la réputation des dits Princes et Potentats gist en la dissension d'entre votre Majesté et le dit Seig<sup>r</sup>. Roy, comme est bien apparu à l'oeil, depuis le commencement de ceste guerre jusque au jour d'huy."

and ornamental. Though born of poor parents, he left behind him a large fortune, untainted by any imputation of dishonesty. He never received a present without the knowledge and wish of the Emperor. So little was the latter accustomed to act without his opinion and advice, that he used to send him every morning a note of the affairs of the day which were to come before him, and what he had to decide was almost always done in accordance with Granvelle's marginal annotations. The bearer of these notes was the Emperor's trusty valet Adrian, a safe messenger, as he could neither read nor write. Granvelle, the name by which he is best known, died in 1550 at Augsburg.

His son was Antony Perrenot, Bishop of Arras, afterwards Archbishop of Mechlin, and Cardinal Granvelle. He inherited his father's talents, dignities, and power over the Emperor. Possessed of the same untiring activity, but gifted with greater eloquence than his father, a master of several languages, and of an easy persuasive style of writing, he was one of the most accomplished diplomatists of the day. He is further characterised, as ambitious, covetous and revengeful; prudent withal, except in his numerous affairs of gallantry. Great as was his power in the councils of Charles, his dominion over Philip was unbounded, and yet he so well knew how to conceal this influence, and to give the credit of his most brilliant conceptions to the Princes he served, that whilst they considered him in the light of a clever workman, he was in fact an all powerful director.\*

\* Oesterreichischer Plutarch.

PERRENOT DE GRANVELLE TO THE DUCHESS OF SAVOY,  
GOVERNESS OF THE NETHERLANDS.

From Toledo, the 19th November, 1525.

"Madam !

Most humbly as I am bound I recommend myself to your good grace !

"Madam ! I wrote to you, it is now about eighteen days ago, by a courier whom they were dispatching to M. de Praet, and whom M. de Bouclains promised to send on to you, at the very moment of my departure for Madrid to see the King of France. I thought it very probable that another courier would soon be sent after the arrival of Madame the Duchess of Alençon, as the Seigneurs of this Court assured me would be the case ; but the communications have been so long, and so frequently interrupted, that even up to the day of her departure to visit the King at Madrid, nothing had been

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19th Nov : 1525.

"Madame ! Si tres humblement que fere puis a votre bonne grace me recommande !

"Madame ! je vous escripviz sont environ xviii jours par un courrier que se depeschoit a Mon' de Praet lequel Mons' de Bouclains m'a promit faire passer oultre, jusques de vers vous, et estoye lors en l'instant de partir pour aller veoir le Roy de France à Madry, et pensoye que toet apres l'on depescheroit autre courrier, quant ma Dame la Duchesse D'Alençon auroit ycy esté cinq ou six jours, et ainsi le m'avoient dit les Seig' de ceste Court. Mais les communications, ont esté longues, et toujours en suspend, et jusques a son partement d'icy, que fut seulement Samedi et est retourné à Madry de

concluded ; and consequently no courier has been sent from this place until the present. He is ordered off with dispatches from M. de Bourbon, now at Barcelona, and thence onward to M. de Praet ; and at my request, the said S<sup>r</sup> de Bouclains has promised that he shall be the bearer of this to you.

“Madame ! In fulfilment of your wishes, and in accordance with the good pleasure of the Emperor, and the advice of the Viceroy and other Seigneurs, I forthwith went to take your letters to the King, and on your part to pay him a visit. I had long audiences with him, at four different times after the fever had subsided, when I found him in a good disposition to receive me, though extremely weak from the severity of his malady. He told me, that he and his kingdom were much indebted to you, Madame, for the desire you had manifested for peace, and a good intelligence and amity between the Emperor and him, and consequently for his deliverance ; which, if

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vers le Roy sans aucun effect ny conclusion, et a ceste cause n'a l'on depeschie courrier jusques a celuyci, lequel passera devers Monseigneur de Bourbon qu'est arrivé à Barcellone et puis dois la devers le dit S<sup>r</sup> de Praet, et j'ay prié le dit S<sup>r</sup> de Bouclains le faire aller devers vous, ce que m'a promis.

“Madame, comme vous escriproye deslors mon alez par le bon plesir de l'Empereur et avis de Mons<sup>r</sup> le Vice-Roi et autres Seig<sup>rs</sup> pourter vos lettres au Roy et le visité de votre part et par quatre fois parliz a luy assez longuement et estoit hors de fievre, en bonne disposition selon l'extremité de la maladie dont il estoit encoires fort debile. Et me dit que tenoit luy et son Royaulme, bien obligie a vous Madame, du desir qu'aviez a la paix et bonne intelligence et amitié d'entre l'Empereur et luy, et par ce moyen a Sa delivrance et que si Dieu la

God should please to grant, he must always esteem you, even as a second mother, with whose advice and counsel he should be happy to govern his affairs ; adding many other fair and courteous expressions. On this subject, and his ardent desire for peace, as well as for the friendship and good graces of the Emperor he spoke much, devising at large the means of effecting it, and always recurring to the idea of a marriage as the principal thing to build upon. He also repeated his assurances of the desire he had to contribute to the aggrandizement of the Emperor, and to assist in forwarding all his enterprises, referring all the means and details to the aforesaid Madame d'Alençon. With regard to myself, he begged I would continue to exercise the charge which you have been pleased to give me of persuading and forwarding as much as possible the said peace, according to the efforts I had already made, of which he had been informed by his Ambassadors the Seigneurs D'Ambrun, and the President.

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donnoit, il vous tiendroit toujours mais pour son autre mère, et conduroit ses affaires au surplus par votre avis et conseil ; avec plusieurs autres bonnes paroles. Sur ceste substance ; et du singulier desir qu'il avait a la paix, amitié, et bonne grace de l'Empereur, divisant longuement des moyens dont tousjours le principal fondement estoit de mariaige et de son desir à la grandeur de l'Empereur et aidé à par bouter oultre ses emprinses, soy remectant des dits moyens à la dite Dame d'Alençon, et me requerant continuer en la charge qui vous a pleu me donner, de persuader et tenir main à la dite paix selon qu'il estoit adverty par les Seig<sup>rs</sup> Dambrun, et président, ses Ambassadeurs, comme j'avois fait.

‘ Madame ! I met on my journey the said lady, and delivered to her your letters ; and whilst I had this opportunity, with the knowledge and will of the Emperor, I went to visit her, and the aforesaid Ambassadors ; and have reason to think that I gave satisfaction without any cause of distrust on one side or the other.

“ Madame ! I have since recovered the copy of the letter which the Emperor had written to M. de Praet, and of other writings which I now send, as a summary of the communications which here took place. At the commencement, the said lady recapitulated the proposition which had already been entertained respecting the marriage, the ransom, or the cession of the Duchy, on condition that it should be pronounced by the Parliament of Paris, a possession belonging of right to the King, who would be ready to give hostages in this case, to ensure its surrender. On this point, however, the Emperor declared, as he had before done, without any

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“ Madame ! je rencontrez en chemin la dite Dame, et luy bailliz vos lettres, et du Sceu et vouloir de l’Empereur pendant qu’elle a esté en ce lieu, la suis esté veoir, et les dits Ambassadeurs, et y tiens avoir fait de sorte qu’ilz en sont contens et sans suspieçon d’ung coustet n’y d’autre.

“ Madame ! depuis j’ay recouvré la coppie de la lettre que l’Emperereur en escript à Mon<sup>rs</sup> de Praet, et la coppie des escriptz que j’envoye pour sommaire des dits communications, au commencement la dite Dame reprend les propoz que déjà avoient esté tenuz de mariaige, raiison, ou rendre la possession du Duché à condicion que après du droit de la dite Duché fut cogneu au parlement de Parys et avec osta-giers pour le rendre en cas qui fut decidé le dit Duchié appartenir au Roy et sur ce l’Emperereur declairit, comme il avoit desja fait, sans

reference to the marriage, that no ransom would satisfy him, nothing less than the Duchy, his ancient heritage, the foundation of his order, of which he bore the name and the arms, rejecting the condition attached to it as wholly inadmissible. Some days afterwards, the said lady, in the absence of the aforementioned Ambassadors, made a proposition to the Emperor who went to visit her at her lodgings, to choose arbitrators, which he had before refused, and which he then, as she told me the same day, was ready to agree to. Afterwards, however, when she was in conference with the Ambassadors, they came to a stand-still, when they touched on the aforesaid condition relating to the Parliament of Paris and the hostages, which the Emperor, they maintained, would not accept. An offer has since been made to unite the Viscounty of Auxonne with the county of the same, in order that the two should form one Duchy, which has likewise been declined. Communications have passed in writing on both sides, of which the result has been

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faire mencion du mariaige qui ne voulait raincon ains avoir le Duché, son ancien heritage, fondement de son ordre et dont il portait le nom et ses armes, rejectant la condition avant dite, et quelques jour apres la dite Dame en absence des dits Ambassadeurs tint propoz á l'Empereur qui la fut veoir en son Logis, de choisir arbitres, que l'Empereur qui paravant l'avoit refusé accourdit, comme le mesme jour elle me dit, et deppuis, elle, et les dits Ambassadeurs, s'arrestarent a la dite condicion d'en cognoistre à Parys et baillié hostages que l'Empereur n'a voulus accepter, et enfin ils ont offert la Viconté d'Auxone pour la joindre au Conté, affin que des deux ce fit ung Duche, qu'a esté refusé ; il a esté baillié par escript d'ung coustel et

nothing more than is above related. They have now taken their leave, both the Duchess of Alençon and the Ambassadors, declaring that the King has fully made up his mind not to resign the said Duchy except on the condition already proposed, choosing rather to submit to perpetual imprisonment ; and this very day the said lady has sent to demand her passports, that she may return to France under the same security as she travelled hither, which has been granted her. No further movements or proposals have since taken place, the Emperor continuing in the same determination to obtain possession of the Duchy ; and if the said lady takes her departure, as appears her intention, the hope of peace which has been excited by her arrival, and the subsequent attempts at negociation, as well as by the arbitration supposed to be agreed on, will altogether vanish for the present.

“ Madame ! On Sunday last, the 15th of this month, I received by Richard the letters and other papers which you were pleased to send me. The Emperor was

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d'autre, dont le principal effet est, ce que dessus, et se sont partiz les dits Dame et Ambassadeurs, disans que le Roy est entièrement resolu de non rendre le dit Duche, si non à la condition avant dite, et plutot choisir prison perpetuelle, et encoires ce jour d'huy à la dite Dame envoyé ici pour s'en pouvoir aller seurement en France comme elle est venue, que luy a été accourdé, et n'est depuis nouvelle d'autres moyens ny changement et demeure l'Empereur resolu de ravoir le dit Duchié, et si la dite Dame se part comme il semble, et quelle demonstra vouloir faire, l'on perdra pour ceste fois l'espoir de paix que l'on a peu grant par sa venue et encoires durant ces communications, mesme sur l'accord du dit arbitraige.” \* \* \* \* \*

at that time on a hunting expedition five leagues hence with a few attendants, having previously taken leave of the Duchess of Alençon ; and on his return I presented to him your letters. I discussed with him at length the two principal points relative to the peace or truce, and the commercial arrangements in which your country is concerned. The present truce, I observed, such as it was, would not be of long continuance, and was not unattended with dangers and inconveniences. I spoke also to him of those three points on which he had lately written to you by his Secretary, repeating to him the causes and reasons which, for the good of his service and with the advice of the Seigneurs of your country, had influenced you in sending Messrs. de Beure and the President into England, noticing the moderation which might be observed in the instructions of Pignolosa, and finally mentioning the truce. To all this his Majesty gave a willing ear, and seemed to take in good part all that was said. Madame ! His Majesty answered me as touching the first point, that he was so well aware of the truth and urgency of the remonstrances and representations which I had made, that he attached great weight to them, and was ready to give them every consideration ; but that it was impossible to come to any conclusion or resolution, or to give any instructions, until it was clear how the negociation was likely to end, and whether the Duchess would really take her departure. How this might turn out, and whether the King and the said Duchess would abide by the answer they had already made, were matters, he informed me, of which

I must await the issue. This, indeed, he had told me thrice before, when I pressed on his attention the affairs of your country ; delaying to enter on them whilst others of deeper interest were still in suspense ; but promising to give them his consideration and send you word of his pleasure, and of the settlement of what was now pending, which might be speedily looked for.

“ Madame ! Whatever might have been the opinion offered, it has certainly come to pass, as my Lady Regent, the Chancellor of France, and Robertet had asserted, that peace has been made with England, and according to articles which had been proposed and resolved upon before the battle and capture of the King. His Majesty and the Seigneurs of his Court would not believe it, whilst it was affirmed by the Ambassadors of France, and at first as stoutly denied by those of England. It seems at length to be generally admitted ; although all appear ignorant of the manner in which it has been brought about. Among other causes, it has chiefly arisen, as is pretended, out of the truce made in your country, as well as from the correspondence which has passed, and your frequent declarations, that as far as your interest was concerned, you had abandoned all thoughts of war. Concerning this matter I gave a sufficient explanation, and satisfied his said Majesty, as I hope, thereupon.” \* \* \* \* \*

A long passage here follows relating chiefly to some points of commerce of small interest apparently, and from ignorance of some matters alluded to, almost untranslatable.

"Madame ! I pray the Creator to grant you a happy and long life. From Toledo, this 19th of October, 1525.

Your most humble and obedient subject and servant,

NICOLAS PERRENOT."

THE SIEUR DE PRAET TO THE EMPEROR.

Lyons, 22 November, 1525.

"Sire !

Since the letters which I lately wrote to your Majesty by a gentleman of the Prince of Orange, nothing has occurred worthy of notice, except that Madame the Regent has received two couriers, through whom, as she has informed me, the news of the King of France's convalescence has been confirmed ; and further, that the President of Paris, and the Bishop of Embrun had lately returned to your Majesty at Toledo ; a circumstance which sufficiently shews the confidence they entertain of the delivery of the King her son. At the same time there is nothing said which gives me the least expectation of the cession of Burgundy. They persist in the same sort of general language, instead of coming to the point, which I have spoken of in former letters. One thing is true according to the accounts of some, that M. de Guise is gone to the Swiss to try to work them up to a new invasion of the Duchy of Milan in pursuance of a treaty entered into with the knowledge and advice of the Pope and the Venetians.

"It is also rumoured that the *fuorusciti* (banished) of

the said Duchy, being for the most part in this city, are likely to make there some sudden movement, and so much the more, as the Marquis of Pescara is now lying sick : all this your Majesty will learn better from the bearer than I am able to describe, and therefore I will no longer dwell upon it. I can see, however, certain appearances on another side, which seem to indicate at the end of this cessation of hostilities, a sort of threatening against the Low Countries. All the captains of the said frontiers have set off hence, with the exception of M. de Vendôme ; and even Messrs. St. Pol and de Vaudesmont take their departure in two days, under the pretence of a party of pleasure into Lorraine and Picardy. I have thought it right to apprise Madame of these my surmises, in order that she may make timely provisions against them ; and should my apprehensions be ill founded, there will be no harm done in being on her guard against dangers which might occur. I expect an answer from Madame by Guillaume des Barres in two or three days, who has been dispatched hither by her command, and according to my request in former letters ; by whom I will not fail likewise to advertise your Majesty of what may in the meantime occur ; and also concerning the army of the Commander Herrera, whom I shall expect some time to-morrow ; though, as I heard this morning, he had been taken a little ill at Montpellier on his way from your Majesty.

“ I shall be able also to inform you of the arrival of the Ambassadors from England, who are expected the day after to-morrow. One of them is the Captain of

Guisnes,\* and the other a Doctor in the service of the Cardinal of York. They are coming with a train of about sixty horse ; and their principal charge as I understand, is to receive the oath of M<sup>e</sup> the Regent, and the ratification of the peace lately concluded between the two kingdoms.

“ Sire ! I supplicate the Lord to have you in his holy keeping. From Lyons, this 22nd of November,

Your most humble and most obedient,  
Servant and subject,

LOUIS DE PRAET.”

\* So in original.

Towards the close of this year 1525, the negociation for setting the King of France at liberty assumed a more promising aspect ; and the opening of the next announced its favorable result, in the following letter from the Emperor to his Minister de Praet.

MINUTE OF A LETTER FROM THE EMPEROR TO THE  
SIEUR DE PRAET.

Toledo, 25 January, 1526.

“Cher et Feal ! We have received your three letters, to which we have made no reply whilst awaiting the issue of the communications between our people and those of our good brother, the King of France, touching the affairs of peace. And now, thanks be to God, that to His praise, and for the repose of Christendom, and for

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MINUTE DE L'EMPEREUR AU SIEUR DE PRAET.

Toledo, 25<sup>me</sup> Janvier, 1526.

“ Chier et Feal !

Nous avons reçeu trois voz lettres aux quelles ne vous avons fait responce, actendant l'ysse des communications d'entre noz gens et ceulx de notre bon frere le Roy de France touchant les affaires de paix. Nous avons présentement, Graces à Dieu, à sa louange et pour

the extinction of all our discords, a peace has been made and sworn to, of so happy a sort as may cause and for ever establish that wise alliance and friendship between us, which ought to be the fruit of so good a work.

“ We write to M<sup>e</sup> the Regent a letter such as you will see, and will present to her; and in informing her of the above, you will offer and express our congratulations on the happy conclusion of peace, with all that courteousness, address and grace of language which your experienced judgment so well knows how to employ, as the case may require. You will state also to the Lady Regent how, in pursuance of the said treaty, we have lost no time in causing to be immediately announced in all the frontiers of our kingdoms the publication of peace, to be proclaimed on the 15th of February inst.; and how we have likewise taken measures for setting at liberty without ransom all prisoners of war,

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le repos de chretienté et effacer toutes noz discordes, fait conclure et jurer icelle paix en si bonne sorte que entendons à james et par sage alliance, et par bonne amytie vyvre, et ensemble nous conduyre comme une si bonne oeuvre le merite. Nous ecripvons a Madame la Regente la lettre telle que verrez, laquelle vous luy présenterez, et luy direz ce que dessus, en vous congratulant avec elle de la bonne conclusion d'icelle paix, avec l'honesteté Gracieuses paroles et bonne maniere dont par votre experimenterée prudence scavez bien user comme le cas le requiert. Vous direz aussi à la dite Dame Regente, comme ensuivant le contenu au dit traicté de paix, avons depesché incontinent par toutes les frontieres de noz royaumes et pays pour la publication d'icelle paix au xveme de Fevrier prochain, et semblablement pour mettre en liberté toutes personnes de guerre sans payer aucun rainçon;

a step which we are quite suré will be met by a similar proceeding on the part of France. But from an especial desire which we have to see the Prince of Orange, the Commander Sucre, Guilfort an Englishman, and Don Garcia de Toledo, Gentlemen of our household as you know, we have particularly to request that the Lady Regent will do us the favor to have them sent off at once, before the prescribed term of next month. We hope on our part that as no delay need to take place, every one detained by us, may be forthwith discharged and all begin to enjoy and communicate the blessings of peace and amity.

" You will likewise also solicit according to the tenor of the said treaty, the deliverance of the Bishop of Autun, and of the Sieur de St. Valier, who have a claim to be put in immediate possession of their liberty as you will see by the article we herewith send by Dormans the bearer of this dispatch. He will remain at your dis-

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et pour ce que du cousté de France doit estre fait le semblable ne faisons doute qu'il y ait faulte, mais pour le desir que avons devoir le Prinse D'Oranges, le Capitaine Sucre, Guilfort Anglois et Don Garcia de Toledo qui sont tous de notre maison comme savez ; Nous desirerions bien que la dite Dame Regente nous fit ce plaisir de les nous envoyer devant le dit xvme. de Fevrier, car nous esperons que aussi devant le dit jour toutes les personnes de notre cousté seront delivrez, car puisqu 'il est conclud n'est besoing se tant arrester au terme limité, ains commancer de complayre les ungs aux aultres.

" Samblablement vous soliciterez, ensuivant le contenu au dit traicté, la delivrance de L'Evesque D'Othun, et du Sieur de St. Valier, lesquelz doyvent estre mis promptement en leur playne liberté, comme verrez par l'article que vous envoyons, et vous porte Dormans ce de-

posal to receive your instructions, and to be sent wher-  
ever our service may require, concerning the aforemen-  
tioned matters.

“We will soon hasten the departure of your attend-  
ant Phippot with our resolution in some other concerns,  
and by him give our opinion for your direction.

“You will, however, follow the Lady Regent in her  
journey to Bayonne, or wherever else also it may be her  
pleasure to go ; and you will constantly write to us of  
all that occurs. Given in our city of Toledo, the 25th  
day of January, 1526.”

MINUTE OF A LETTER FROM THE EMPEROR TO THE  
KING OF FRANCE.

Written at Toledo, January, 1526.

“Sir, my good Brother !

Having seen by your letters, and by those of my Vice-  
roy of Naples, and of Don Hugo, as well as having

pesche lequel pourrez employer et instruyre, l'envoyant ou sera besoing  
pour notre service en ce dessus.

“Nous depescherons bientost Phippot votre serviteur avec resolu-  
tion en voz affaires, et par luy vous advertirrons comme vous aurez à  
conduyre cependant vous suyverez la dite Dame Regente en son  
voyage a Bayonne si elle y vient, ou aultre part qu'elle yra, et nous  
escriprez toujours de toutes nouvelles.

“Donné en notre cité de Tholedo le xxvme. jour de janvier  
xv<sup>e</sup>xxvi.”

DE L'EMPEREUR AU ROI DE FRANCE.

Janvier, 1526.

“Monsieur mon bon Frere, ayant vû par vos lettres et par icelles  
de mon Viceroy de Naples, de Don hugo, et par la relation de Jean

heard by word of mouth from John Lallemand, of the conclusion of a peace between you and me, an event which I have so ardently desired, and which gives me marvellous pleasure from the fruit which it may produce, if we each acquit ourselves of our obligations, which I doubt not we shall heartily and honestly do, I have now the greatest satisfaction in replying to the wish you have expressed, and which I have equally entertained of a meeting between us. This might be accomplished without any delay, even whilst writing this letter, were it not that I am constrained to postpone it for a few days, in order to the dispatch of some matters of business necessary to the affairs concluded in our said peace. In the meantime however, as I am anxious to hear of your good health, I send the Count D'Egmont to see you, and in my stead to pay you a visit, until I can do it in my own person ; at the same time advising you that I have made provisions for receiving the dispensation, which I have no doubt will be

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Lallemand la conclusion qu'il est pris de la paix entre vous et moi, qui estoit chose que tant je desirois, et dont j'ay eû merveilleuse plaisir, pour le service que d'icelle en reviendra, si nous nous acquittons comme ne fais doute, que vous de votre coté et moy du myen serons, et de bien bon coeur, satisferont à votre desir de nous trouver ensemble, car en ce eusse aussi satisfait au mien, que ferai tot, et tans grand delai et fut aussitot exécuté que cette lettre est ecrite, n'eut été, que suis constraint pour aucun jours le delayer, pour entendre à faire depecher aucunes choses necessaires aux affaires conclûtes par la ditte paix, et cependant est pour savoir de votre bon portement, j'envoie le Comte d'Egmont vous voir, aussi pour vous visiter, jusques a que je le fasse en personne : vous avisant, que j'ai pourvu pour avoir la

sent in the course of to-morrow, and not to fatigue you with so bad a letter, he will now conclude whom you shall always find your good brother and friend

CHARLES.”

COPY OF AN ORIGINAL LETTER FROM THE SIEUR DE PRAET AMBASSADOR IN FRANCE.

Written to the Emperor from Lyons, 3rd February, 1526.

A part of this letter is written in cypher.

“Sire!

Your Majesty will have been informed of the news from hence, by the Sieur de Bossu, up to his departure, which took place last Thursday.

“On Sunday morning (the 26th January) Mons<sup>r</sup> le Mareschal de Montmorency arrived, bringing to M<sup>de</sup> la Regente the news of the conclusion of peace, with which the said lady and those of her party were marvellously pleased. Others there are at this Court who rejoice but little on the subject, both because of the cession of Burgundy, and for other reasons which touch their personal interests.

“As to the Italians who are here, they at first pretended to be much distressed about it, but from what I have since heard their present talk is of becoming from henceforward as loyal to your Majesty, as they have hi-

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dispence, laquelle ne fais doute que demain pourtout le jour sera despescié, et pour ne vous facher de si mauvaise lettre, fera fin celui que à jamais trouvez. Votre bon frére et ami (etoit signé:)

CHARLES.”

Conforme à la Minute.

thereto been to the King of France, in hopes, as they have been led to expect, that each of them will recover his lands and houses as soon as the said peace is concluded.

“The same Sunday, Sire, in the afternoon, the said lady sent for me to communicate to me the said news; but I found it impossible to attend her, on account of a pain in my knees which had come on a few days before. She likewise sent for Mons<sup>r</sup> le Prince [the Prince of Orange] and, after many very civil speeches, set him at liberty on parole, giving him leave to go and see M<sup>de</sup> la Princesse his mother, on condition of being back again in time to meet the Regent on the 15th of next month, when, according to the conditions of the said Treaty of peace, he is to be set at large with the rest of the prisoners. This has been promised by the said Prince, and he is now gone to Burgundy, as your Majesty will be further informed, by the enclosed letters.

“The next day, Sire, which was last Monday, I went in spite of the pain I was suffering, to wait upon the aforesaid lady, and these are the heads of the discourse she held with me.

“The first was, touching her gratitude to God, and to you Sire, as well for the deliverance of her son, as for the friendship and alliance which is to be cemented by the marriage of the said King with M<sup>de</sup> Eleonora, which thing, she said, was what she most wished for in this world. She begged me also to write to you, and to entreat, as from her, that, if it be your good pleasure, you will cause the said lady Eleanor to approach the frontier of Bayonne, in order that it may be advised

whether it be possible to celebrate the said marriage immediately at Bayonne ; in which case the said lady would proceed at once with him to France ; thus proving to me, Sire, how marvellously her heart is in this matter.

"The second thing she touched upon was the cession of the Duchy of Burgundy. She told me, that so many persons of all estates in the kingdom were so highly displeased at it, that she is giving out to all, both Princes and others, that as soon as the said Duchy shall be in your hands, its rights will be discussed and decided by umpires. She requested me to spread the same report here and to supplicate your Majesty that it be your pleasure to do the same where you are, until the said Duchy be fairly given up, after which the said article concerning it may be divulged without danger.

"Thirdly, the said lady begged me to intreat your Majesty in her name, that since M<sup>r</sup> the Viceroy\* has by your desire, taken the lead in settling the articles of the said peace, and has been at so much trouble, in conducting the King her son into Spain, as well as in negotiating the amity which now subsists between you, it may be your good pleasure to give in charge to the said Viceroy, the conduct of the said King as far as Bayonne. The Viceroy having had the honour of taking him prisoner, would thus enjoy the appropriate honour of setting him at liberty, and the aforesaid lady would have an opportunity of seeing him, and thanking him for all the duty and kindness he has shewn towards her.

"After this, Sire, the aforesaid lady called Mons<sup>r</sup> the

\* Lannoy Viceroy of Naples.

Mareschal de Montmorenci, who in my hearing made so many civil speeches about your Majesty, that I could not take upon me to record them all.

“Sire, I replied as well as I could, promising to report all that was said to your Majesty.

“With regard to the first request of the said lady the Regent, namely, the conclusion of the King’s marriage with M<sup>de</sup> Eleanor at Bayonne, notwithstanding that she is dealing therein sincerely and openly as I believe, yet, according to my poor judgment, it will be safer to adhere strictly to the forms of the treaty, giving some proper reply and civil excuse to the said Regent, such as your Majesty better knows how to frame than myself.

“With regard to the second, it appears to me that it is by no means desirable for your Majesty or any of your friends, to spread a report which is neither consistent with truth, nor with your own interest, but even should it be your Majesty’s pleasure to comply with her request on this point, it will be better to speak on the subject as cautiously as possible, which I have resolved to do, Sire, until I receive your further instructions. For, Sire, as I have already written to you, if it had not been for the said lady the Regent and those of her party, the aforesaid Duchy would never have been ceded, either by treaty or otherwise ; it being a point which marvelously grieves and disturbs the whole kingdom, and not without cause, seeing that it will be much weakened thereby ; specially if the said Duchy is well watched and guarded, which I have no doubt your Majesty will look to, and which will be so much the more easily done, since

Franche Comté, and Germany are so close to it. Inasmuch, therefore, Sire, as this is a point of the greatest consequence, your Majesty must be very urgent that it be brought to pass according to the strict terms of the treaties; and to this end it will be desirable to keep together your army in Italy, and also to make known by your Ambassadors at the Courts of Rome and London, how essential you consider the said cession to the lasting good of Christendom.

“ Others news, Sire, there is none, save that Madame departs to-morrow for Blois, from whence she will immediately proceed towards Bayonne with the Dauphin and the Duke of Orleans, for, as she has said, repeated, and sworn to me several times, neither the King nor herself will fail to observe even the minutest point contained in the treaty, as well regarding Burgundy as in every other article. She has already set M<sup>r</sup> le Prince at liberty on parole, and he has gone to visit M<sup>de</sup> his mother, on condition of being at the aforesaid Blois before the 15th of next month, there to receive his full release, and forthwith to proceed to Spain, as you will find, Sire, by the letters of the said Prince, herewith enclosed. With which I will now conclude, Sire, after recommending myself most humbly to your grace, and praying our Lord to have you in his keeping. From Lyons, the last day of January.”

“ Sire, since I wrote the above, Dormans has arrived with your Majesty’s dispatch; and according to its tenor, I have spoken to M<sup>de</sup> la Regente, congratula-

ting her on the peace, and urging her to the speedy release of the prisoners of war, and of Mess<sup>rs</sup> de St. Valier and d'Autun. She has promised me, that they shall be set at liberty as soon as she arrives at Blois, assuring me again, that every thing contained in the treaty shall be most faithfully accomplished. I will urge her to haste, and will let you know what she has done. She told me also, that the line of posting is to be changed on this side, and that it is now to pass through Bayonne. It will be necessary that your Majesty should forthwith direct a correspondent change to take place on your side, which will shorten the distance of the route by eighty or one hundred miles.

“Sire ! At the beginning of this letter I wrote you word of what was said by the Italian exiles (“Fuorusciti”) here. Since that, the S<sup>r</sup> Galeazzo Visconti has been to see me twice, and has made me a great many speeches, excusing himself for not having paid me a visit sooner, by pleading the unsettled state of affairs. He recapitulated the services which he had *formerly rendered* to the late Emperor, dwelt on his having always endeavoured to dissuade the King of France from going to war with you and concluded by saying, that he was about to proceed straight to Bayonne, and that when he had heard how the affairs of Milan were tending, he would if he could do so consistently with his honour, return to your service ; in which he would so employ himself as to deserve your highest praise. This, and many other things which he said, had in my opinion no other object than to draw out from me the contents

of the aforesaid treaty with regard to Milan, and to the disposal of the property of himself and other “Fuorusciti.”

“ I answered, that the King was about to dispossess himself entirely of every pretended claim to Milan, and with regard to the said property, I told him in general terms, that he must feel certain, that a Prince so virtuous as yourself, would act both towards him and others in a manner which would satisfy every reasonable expectation ; and this I said without entering into any further particulars. Written as above, the third of February.

Your most humble and most obedient servant  
and subject,

Signed

LOYS DE PRAET.

LETTER OF CHARLES DE LANNOY VICEROY OF NAPLES  
TO THE DUCHESS OF SAVOY, GOVERNESS OF THE  
NETHERLANDS.

Written at Madrid, Ash Wednesday, 14th February, 1526.

“ Madame !

The Emperor arrived here yesterday. The King of France went outside the city to give him the meeting. The Emperor, as they proceeded, gave the King the place of honour, which he sought to decline. After supper, they remained together for the space of two hours, and, as far as I can understand, they were mutually pleased. The King begged permission of the Emperor to see the Queen, which was granted, as well as the assurance of her being delivered over to him on the

ratification of the treaty of peace, that is to say, as soon as he, the King, sets his foot in Provence.

“ Madame ! The Emperor has commanded me to conduct the King on his way, and to receive Monseigneur the Dauphin and Monseigneur of Orleans, or the Dauphin and the twelve other hostages, to be surrendered as security for the treaty of peace, and to hand over the said Seigneurs to the Constable,\* who is commissioned to take them under his charge, and who goes to accompany the Queen as far as Vittoria. Thence, it his Majesty’s pleasure that I should attend the Queen to Bayonne.

“ Madame ! The charge I have received is a great and most weighty one ; but notwithstanding the difficulties in my way, with the desire I have always had of rendering my best services to the Emperor, I cannot decline it, hoping for God’s assistance that I may loyally do my duty.

“ Madame ! His said Majesty has commanded me to go to Naples to put in order the affairs of that kingdom, by holding a parliament with a view to its more effectual service.

“ Madame ! Wherever I may be, I entreat you to believe that you have in me a faithful servant, who will spare no endeavour as far as his services may avail for your interest, honour, and renown ; and if at any time his power should prove insufficient, be, persuaded, Madam that his will is not in fault.

“ Madame ! You will be made acquainted by M. Ni-

\* The Constable of Castille.

colas Perrenot of the general state of affairs. In him you have also a good servant, who has well done all that it was your pleasure to command him. I would also beg to recommend to you as such, John Lallemand, whom I have known to be so, ever since I have been at this Court.

"In conclusion, Madame, may it please you to honour me at all times with your commands ; and I pray God to give you a happy and long life. From Madrid, Ash Wednesday, 1526,

Your most humble servant,  
CHARLES DE LANNOY."

COPY OF A LETTER FROM THE EMPEROR TO THE  
SIEUR DE PRAET.

Written at Madrid, 19th February, 1526.

"Cher et feal," we have received the letters by Bossu, and have been informed of the affairs concerning yourself, communicated through him and which we have already taken into consideration with a view to make such a provision as may meet the wishes expressed in your letter, and by the present bearer. First as to the salary you have from us on account of your Embassy, which has been at the rate of ten florins a day. We

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" 19th Fevrier, 1526.

" Chier et Feal nous avons reçeu les lettres par Bossu, et entendu ce qu'il nous a dit de votre part touchant voz affaires ; surquoy avons déjà advisé vous pourveoir suivant ce que nous aviez escript tant par votre homme présent porteur comme auparavant, et premiers quant au Salaire qu'avez de nous à cause de votre Ambassade qu'est de dix florins par jour, nous sommes content que le dit Salaire vous soit

agree that the said salary shall be augmented to seven golden ducats a day, to commence from the date of the letters which we wrote from hence on appointing you our Ambassador in France ; and we moreover agree that the said augmentation of salary shall hold good so long as you shall remain in the said embassy, and this over and above the other salaries and allowances you receive from us, and that it shall be paid by the hands of our Treasurer out of the monies in his charge. As to what may be due to you on account of your past services in England, we will have it looked to, and paid out of our revenues in Flanders, having now no doubt, since we are at present at peace, that all the payments due to you shall be surely and punctually made from our said finances. Touching the gift and present over and above, of which I have spoken, though now on the eve of my departure for Seville, be assured that when there, I will not suffer it to be forgotten, as a reward most

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accreu, assavoir que ou lieu des dis dix florins vous ayez par chacun jour sept Ducaz d'or à commencer du jour de la date des lettres que vous escripvimes d'icy, que deussiez aller nous servir en la ditte Ambassade en France, et à continuer tant que demeurrez en icelle Ambassade, et ce oultre les aultres gaiges et traictment que avez de nous, desquelz sept ducas par jour serez payé par la main de notre argentier et de noz deniers de sa charge, et quant à ce que vous peult estre deu auparavant à cause de votre service en Angleterre, nous vous en ferons dresser et payer par noz finances en Flandres, et ne faisons point de doute, puisque maintenant y a paix, que votre dit payement sera bien seur et certain en nos dittes finances ; et quant au don que nous avons escript que vous ferions, nous sommes sur notre partement pour aller à Seville et nous estre illec, aurons bonne souvenance d'ainsi le faire comme c'est bien raison et vos bons services le meritent. Au

reasonable, and well merited by your good services. Moreover, we send with these a copy of the treaty of peace made at Madrid, by which you will perceive and understand the conditions which are necessary to be executed promptly on either side. As concerning ourselves, we have already began what is requisite on our part, and intend so to fulfil the remainder, that no fault should be found with us ; and inasmuch as it is a matter of the first necessity, that the King of France our good brother, the moment he shall be set at liberty should signify to us by letters of assurance not only of his cession of Burgundy, but the absolution of his subjects from their oath of allegiance, and should recognise the declaration of the Sovereignty of Flanders and Artois, and other things as set forth in the said treaty, it seems to us that you would do well to commit to memory those particulars of which an assurance on his part is to be required, and so bring these matters to bear, that after the said Seigneur King shall have arrived at Bayonne,

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surplus vous envoyons avec cestes la copie du traicté de la paix faicté à Madrid, par laquelle copie verrez et cognoistrez les choses qui sont nécessaires à faire promptement d'une part et d'autre, à quoy avons desja commencé à pourveoir et y pourvoyeron en ce que reste, de maniere qu'il n'y aura nulle faulte de notre cousté, et pour ce qu'il est besoign incontinent que le Roy de France notre bon frere sera en liberté, recouvrer de luy plusieurs lectrages tant pour son desistement des pays de Bourgoyne et absolucion du sacrement des subjectz comme verrez en l'article, comme aussi *pour le fait* de la Souverainté de Flandres et d'Artois, et autres choses declarées audit traicté, il nous semble que ferez bien de faire ung extrait par memoire des dites Lectrages qui fault recouvrer *pour en faire le debvoir* quant le dit S<sup>r</sup>

you may be able to send us immediate dispatches by post of all this being executed in due form.

"In like manner as the said Seigneur King is bound to deliver up to us certain hostages, as you will see by this treaty, we desire that you will well and carefully inform yourself, who the said hostages are to be, whether the King's two eldest sons, or Monseigneur the Dauphin and twelve of the principal nobility. We desire that you will advise us of the same, together with every other particular, especially concerning the preparations which they may be making to fulfil their part in the treaty. But the point to which we have principally to direct your attention is, that you take especial notice of, and be regardful of the persons of the three children of France, that you make yourself thoroughly acquainted with the visage, physiognomy, size and person of each, that when it comes to the delivering of them over according to the treaty, there may be no trickery in sub-

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Roy sera à Bayonne, et nous envoyer par les postes le depesche du tout en fourme convenable. Semblablement pour ce que le dit Sieur Roy nous doit bailler seurté de hostages comme verrez par icelluy traicté, nous desirons que vous informez de bonne maniere quels seront les dits hostaiges ou les deux filz aisnez ou Monsieur le Dauphin et les douzes personnages, et nous advertissez ce que en entenderez ensemble de toutes autres nouvelles de par de là, et dez apprestz que l'on y fait pour satisfaire à ce que nous a esté promis, mais le principal à quoy est besoin et desirons que vous ayez regard, est que vous voyez bien les personnes des trois enfans de France, et que vous informez si bien de l'aspect, philozomie, corpulance et qualité de chacun d'iceulx, que quand viendra à la delivrance qui se doit faire selon le traité, il n'y ait point de tromperie de bailler une personne pour autre

stuting one person for another, and that you may be able of a certainty to recognise them as the identical persons, whom we ought to have. Our Viceroy of Naples is to take the charge of the said delivery and acceptation, and as you are aware he can have no personal knowledge himself of the said children, it is a matter of necessity that you should be well acquainted with all these particulars ; and further we desire that on your arrival at Bayonne, you report the same to our said Viceroy, and receive his instructions as to what in this matter he may then require.

“ We shall send by our said Viceroy our letters of ratification of the said treaty of peace, in order that on receiving those which the said Sieur King is bound to give up at Bayonne, you may deliver ours to him in return, and that in quality of our Ambassador, you may see that he immediately take an oath that he will act at the said Bayonne in such manner as in such cases is the custom, not only as concerns the said treaty, but the

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et que lors vous poussiez recognoistre au vray si se seront ceulx que devons avoir, car notre Viceroy de Naples aura charge de la ditte delivrance et reception, et vous savez qu'il n'a pas la cognosance des dits enffans, parquay il est de besoign que y advisez bien comme dessuz et que dez que serez arrivé à Bayonne vous en advertissez notre dit Viceroy, et faites au surplus de ceslui affaire selon que alors il vous escripra.

“ Nous envoyerons par notre dit Viceroy nos lettres de ratificacion du dit traicté de paix, affin que en recevant celles que le dit Sieur Roy est tenu de bailler quant il sera à Bayonne, vous luy deliverez les nôtres, et que, comme notre Ambassadeur, vous le voyez jurer incontinent qu'il sera au dit Bayonne selon et comme en tel cas est accous-

said marriage also, and as touching his own good faith in the said treaty. You know that it is necessary as soon as the said Sieur King shall be at liberty that he renew and ratify all its conditions according to what he has promised in the said treaty, and that our said Viceroy should apprise you of it. As you know also, that on the part of France an Ambassador is to reside at our Court, and as we are especially desirous that some good personage should be selected for this purpose (a lover of peace, and of the maintenance of this friendship) you will do us a pleasure, if you would look about you where you now are for a suitable person of this description, and communicate thereon with our said Viceroy that he may of himself take some measures for the furtherance of such an appointment. Given in our City of Toledo, the 12th day of February, anno 1526.

tumé, tant de ce qui touche à la ditte paix qu'au mariage et aussy de sa foy, comm il est convenu au dit traicté, car vous savez que ce sont toutes choses nécessaires de faire renouveler et ratifier quant le dit Sieur Roy sera en sa liberté comme il est, ensuivant aussi ce qu'il a promis par le dit traicté, et que notre dit Viceroy lors vous advertira et pour ce que du cousté de France vous entendez assez qu'ils envoyeroient icy ung Ambassadeur pour resider, et nous desirons bien que ce soit quelque bon personnage amateur de paix et de l'entretenement de ceste amytié, vous nous ferez plaisir regardez par de là quelquq qu'il soit de cette qualité, et nous en advertir, ensemble notre dit Viceroy afin que de soy mesmes il tienne main que le dit bon personnage soit envoyé. Donné en notre cité de Toledo, le xijeme. jour de Fevrier,  
Anno xvcccvi. Stil d'Espaigne, ainsy signé Charles et du Secré-

"To our dear and trusty Chevalier, Counsellor, Chamberlain in Ordinary, and Ambassador in France, Sieur de Praet."

"Since writing the foregoing we have received your letter of the 4th of this month, and in it learnt the proposal which the Queen Regent had suggested and desired to be communicated to us. To which we would reply; as to the first point, the spreading a report of an arbitration respecting Burgundy seems to us little better than an impertinence; but we are ready to admit that the less it is talked of the better, though the cession of the said Burgundy, which is to take place within six weeks after the liberation of the most Christian King our brother, is a principal point in our treaty, about which there remains no doubt or difficulty, considering the good personages, who as security on this very account are to be delivered up as hostages.

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taire Lalemand, et superscript à notre Amé et feal Chevalier Conseillier Chambellan ordinaire et Ambassadeur en France le Sieur de Praet,"

"Depuis notre Lettre escripte, avons reçeu les votres du iiiij<sup>e</sup>me de ce mois et par icelles entendu les propoz que Madame la Regente vous a tenuz et ce quelle vous a requis nous escripre, surquoy pour responce, quant au premier point de faire courir le bruyt de l'arbitraige de Bourgongne nous semble que ce seroit chose impertinente, mais bien en peult l'on parler le moins que fere se pourra, et ainsi se fait du cousté de pardeça, car l'effect de la restitucion du dit Bourgongne qui se doit faire dedans les six sepmaines du jour de la delivrance du Roy très Chretien notre bon frere est le principal, et à quoy ne faisons nulle double, actendu les bons personnaiges que nous doivent à ceste cause estre ballez pour hostages, et quant à ce

" As to what the Lady desires, that our Viceroy should have the charge of conducting the Seigneur King to Bayonne, and respecting her earnest wish that the consummation of the marriage with our sister, the most Christian Queen Dame Eleanora, should be so hastened as to take place at Bayonne on the King's arrival, without awaiting the time appointed in the treaty; you may assure the Lady Regent that ever since the conclusion of the peace, we have been from one day to another in the most earnest wish and disposition to go to our city of Madrid, to enjoy an interview and companionship with the S<sup>r</sup>. King, making good cheer in all true and loyal friendship as becomes good brothers. So much however remained to be done of urgent business before we could quit Toledo, that without blame to any one, we could not get away until Monday last. On the day following, Shrove Tuesday, we reached

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que la ditte Dame desire que notre Viceroy de Naples soit celluy qui ait la charge de remener le dit S<sup>r</sup>. Roy et qu'elle desire aussi grandement que la consommacion du mariage avec notre Seur la Royne très Chretienne Dame Eleonore se face à Bayonne au plus tost que fere se pourra, desque le dit S<sup>r</sup>. Roy y sera arrivé sans attendre le temps contenu au traicté, vous pourrez dire à la ditte Dame Regente que depuys la paix conclute nous avons esté de jour à aultre en volonté de venir en ceste notre ville de Madrit pour nous veoir avec le dit S<sup>r</sup>. Roy, et par ensemble fere bonne chiere avec toute vraye et léale amytié comme entre bons Frères doit estre, et nous avons en tant d'afferes à despescher avant que partir dè Toledo, afin qu'il n'y ait point de faulte à tout ce qu'est de besoign pourveoir promptement selon le dit traité de paix que n'avons peu partyr jusques à Lundy dernier, et le lendemain que fut le jour de Caresme entrant,

Madrid where we had the satisfaction of finding ourselves with the Sieur King, reciprocally exchanging such sentiments and good offices as two attached friends and brothers entertain and exercise together. Amongst other subjects, which we talked over, was the very same thing which the Lady Regent has desired, touching the consummation of the marriage of our Sister, and that our Viceroy should accompany the King to the frontier. This we have most willingly accorded, notwithstanding the contradiction of that article in the treaty which concerns our Sister, namely that she should not pass over into France, until the hostages had been placed in our hands for the cession of Burgundy.

" We remained at Madrid Tuesday Evening, Wednesday and Thursday, and on the following day departed thence with the said Sieur King our brother, and slept four leagues from Madrid, in order to reach

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sommes venuz au dit Madrit, et nous sommes trouvez ensemble le dit S<sup>r</sup>. Roy et nous faisant l'ung envers l'autre reciproquement ce que deux bons loyaulx frères qui a jamès sont et seront vrays amis, doivent fere, et entre aultres devises qu'avons eu ensemble, il nous a requis le semblable touchant la consommacion du mariage de notre ditte Seur et aussi de l'allée du dit Viceroy que la ditte Dame Régnente vous avoit requiz comme dit est, ce que liberalement avons accordé et mesmes de ce que touche notre ditte Seur, combien que par le dit traicté de paix soit dit au contrere, assavoir qu'elle n'yroit en France jusques les dits hostaiges seroient mis hors noz mains après la ditte restitucion de Bourgogne fete, nous avons demeuré au dit Madrid le mardi au soir, le merquedy, et le jeudy, et le vendredy en sommes party avec le dit S<sup>r</sup>. Roy notre Frere et sommes allé couché à quatre lieues du dit Madrit pour estre la Samedy à illescas

Illescas two leagues further on Saturday. At the said Illescas we shall find the Queen our sister. Here they will meet and see each other, and speak together ; and then the King will return to Madrid, and we shall continue his companion in the evening. The next day he will begin his journey direct for Bayonne accompanied by our said Viceroy. Soon afterwards our sister the Queen will also set off for the same, attended by our Constable of Castile. And as to ourselves we intend to take the road towards Seville, where we shall find our Empress, and where our marriage is to take place. It will be doing us a service to write an account as frequently as possible of all that is passing with you.

“ We send letters under our own hand to the Lady Regent and to M<sup>e</sup>. d’Alençon, to the end that you may deliver them in person.

Done at Madrid, 19th February.”

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qu'est à deux lieues plus avant, et audit illescas se trouvera la ditte Royne notre Seur, et illec se verront le dit S<sup>r</sup>. Roy son mary et elle, et s'estre veuz et parlez sans plus, le dit S<sup>r</sup>. Roy s'en retournera le chemin du dit Madrit et nous l'accompagnerons pour ce soir là, et le lendemain il prendra son chemin pour tirer droit à Bayonne accompagné de notre dit Viceroy et bientost apres partira notre ditte Seur la Royne aussi pour aller au dit Bayonne accompagné de notre Conestable de Castille ; et quant à nous prenons le chemin pour aller à Seville, où trouverons L'Imperatrix pour aussi faire nos Nopces, vous nous ferez service nous escrire de voz Nouvelles de parde là le plus souvent que vous sera possible.

“ Nous vous envoyons les Lettres de notre main à la ditte Dame Régente, et à Madame d’Alençon a fin que vous mesmes les baillez.

Fait à Madrit le xix. Febrvier.”

Conforme à la Minute.

The following is the letter spoken of, to the Lady Regent, dated Madrid, 16th Feb., 1526.

“ Madame, my good Mother,

Since I have given back a good brother to the King your son, and am offering you the Queen my sister for a daughter, it appears to me that in order not to present you one son only, I should resume the name which I used formerly to give you, and should again address you as my good mother; and seeing that I do so consider you, I pray you to act as such towards the said Queen my sister, as well as towards myself. I came to this town of Madrid to see the King your son, my good brother, and I was sorry not to have been able to do so sooner, but I am greatly rejoiced at finding both his health and his affections in so different a state from what they were when I last saw him. The love and friendship which he professes to bear towards

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16. Fevrier 1526.

“ Madame ma bonne Mere !

Il m'a semblé que puyz que j'ay recouvré au Roy votre Filz ung bon Frere, et que je vous baille la Royne ma Seur pour fille, que pour ne vous rendre un seul filz, que debvais reprendre le nom dont autrefois avais usé et vous tenir pour bonne Mere, et puyz que pour telle vous tyens, vous prye que vers la Royne ma ditte Seur et aussy vers moy en veulliez fere les œuvres ; je suis venu en cette Ville de Madrit veoir le Roy votre Filz mon bon Frere, et m'a esté Payne, que plustot n'a peu estre, mais ce m'a esté une grosse joye, le trouver en autre estat de santé, et en une autre amictié, que celle en quoy il estoit quant le veys dernierement, et ce m'a esté petit plaisir avoir entendu de luy l'amour et amictié que il m'a declaré il me

me have given me no small satisfaction, and I nowise doubt the sincerity of these good feelings, which I hope you will assist in confirming, as you have promised me by your letters that you would do. On my part I assure you that the love and friendship I bear towards him are most sincere, and that I am fully prepared to accomplish every thing I have promised.

“ You request in your said letter, that the King your son my good brother, should take the Queen his wife my sister with him. He has himself made the same request, and is still more earnest to see her, which he is to do next Saturday, soon after which interview, he is to set out on his journey, in order to arrive on the day which has been fixed upon. To please him and you, I have also arranged that the Queen my said sister should follow him at a distance of four or five days, and as soon as the King your son, my good brother, has ratified and sworn to the treaties, and that all things are concluded between him and me, she

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porte, laquelle ne fais doubte, et vous prie que aydyés à l'entretenir comme par vos Lettres m'avez escript ferez, et de mon cousté je vous asseure que l'amour et amictié que j'ay à luy est toute bonne et vray, et que il n'y aura faulte aux choses par moy promises ; vous me pryez par vos dites Lettres que le Roy votre dit Filz mon bon Frere, puisse mener avec luy la Royne sa femme, ma seur, il m'a prycé la semblable et d'avantaige de la veoir a qu'il fera Samedy prochain, et tost aprés, se mettra en chemin pour estre dedens le jour qui a esté conclud, et pour luy complaire et aussi à vous, ay esté et suys content que la Royne ma ditte Souer le sieuve de quatre où cinq journées, pour desque le dit Roy votre Filz mon bon frere aura ratiffié et juré les traicties et choses conclutes entre luy et moy, la

shall be given up at Bayonne according to your desire. This shall be done by my Viceroy of Naples after he has liberated the King your son my brother, and has received the hostages that are to be given.

“ And now, Madam, that he may no longer distress you by his bad writing,\* he who looks upon you as his good mother will conclude by recommending himself with all his heart to your kindness, and will sign himself,

Your good Son

CHARLES.

To Madam the Regent of France my good Mother.

The former part of the foregoing letter from the Emperor to his Ambassador, countersigned by the Secre-

delivrer à Bayonne selon votre desir, ce que fera mon Viceroy de Naples après avoir fait la delivrance du Roy votre dit filz et mon Frere, et avoir reçeu les ostaiges que se doivent delivrer, et pour ne vous facher de sa mavaise lettre, fera fin, en se recommandant de bien bon cœur à vous, Madame, celuy qui pour sa bonne Mere vous tient qui est votre bon filz.

Signé                    CHARLES.

Superscription. À Madame la Regente en France ma bonne Mere.

\* The Emperor's hand writing is in truth as bad as can be imagined, but the accuracy of the copies in the Editor's possession may be generally relied upon, as transcribed by one of the Clerks in the Chancery of the Imperial family archives, employed in decyphering these ancient autograph Manuscripts.

tary of State, “Lallemand,” seems to be of a more official character than the latter, where he indulges in a somewhat less formal and more festive vein, meant probably for the ear of the Lady Regent, to whom the epistle accompanying it was to be delivered by the Ambassador’s own hands, in which amidst the many reiterated assurances of love and friendship, a stern determination to insist on “the penalty and forfeit of the bond,” is sufficiently visible.

An extract from the Emperor’s Itinerary as supplying a few details of this period, will here not be out of place or without interest. From this, it appears that on the 14th January the treaty was concluded. “About this time” it goes on to say, “the Duke of Bourbon came to Toledo, where the widowed Queen of Portugal having left off her mourning on being affianced to the King of France, also arrived from Talavera, and was met by the Emperor and the Duke of Bourbon. The latter took his leave on the 12th of February to return to Milan. The same day the Emperor slept at Illescas and remained there on the 13th. On the 14th he went to Madrid, and on the 18th accompanied the King of France to Tiriton. On the 20th February they came together to Illescas, where they paid a visit to Queen Eleanora, and Queen Germaine de Foix, accompanied by the Countess of Nassau and other ladies, who received them on the stairs. They then went into a saloon, where the four sat down under a canopy, whilst the ladies of the Court amused themselves by dancing. The two monarchs then took leave, and returned to-

gether to Tiriton. On the 21st in the afternoon the Emperor and King went again to Illescas to take leave of the Queens, and then returned to sleep at Tiriton, at which place the two sovereigns parted."

The treaty now at length agreed to, which was to set Francis at liberty, and to make good friends and brothers of the two great contending parties, contained amongst a variety of minor and mortifying conditions the following leading articles: namely, the cession of Burgundy to the Emperor, for the guarantee of which at the moment of the King's liberation, two of his children, the Dauphin and Duke of Orleans, or in lieu of the latter, twelve of the principal nobility of France were to be delivered up as hostages; the renunciation on the part of Francis to all his pretensions in Italy; a disclaimer of any title to Flanders and Artois, which were both to be retained by the Emperor in undisputed sovereignty; the restoration to Bourbon and to his adherents of all the property of which they had been dispossessed, and full indemnity for the loss during confiscation; the total abandonment of the cause of the King of Navarre; and a marriage of Francis with Charles's sister in corroboration of the amity and political alliance which was henceforth to subsist between them; a ratification of these with all the minor articles, by the States, and the registration of them by the Parliament of France were also required. On the Emperor receiving this ratification, the hostages were to be set at liberty, but a still further guarantee was to be granted on their dismissal; namely, that the third son of the King should be handed

over to Charles to be educated at the Imperial Court ; and if Francis did not within the prescribed time fulfil his stipulations in the treaty, he was to promise on his honour and oath that he would surrender himself again a prisoner to the Emperor.

Such were the terms enacted by a conqueror from his prostrate and imprisoned foe, and the result was such as might have been expected. Francis, it is said, even before he quitted Madrid, protested secretly before his friends and counsellors against the validity of a treaty wrung from him under circumstances of oppression which deprived him of all power of acting as an independent sovereign. Hence ensued, on the one side bad faith, and broken engagements, on the other, mortification and disappointment, lighting up a renewed warfare embittered by personal rancour and animosity.\*

\* The following is the account given by Guicciardini of the manner of the delivery of the French King, which shews the feelings of distrust which actuated both parties. It is from an old English translation, published in folio, 1618. “ By this time the French King was come to Fontaraby, a town appertayning to the Emperor, standing near the Ocean Sea upon the frontiers of Biscay and the Dutchy of Guyen ; and on the other side the Lady Regent was arrived with the children of France at Bayon, which is not farre from Fontaraby ; and she had lingered some time longer than the day appointed for the permutation, by reason the gout took her by the way. Then the 18th day of March, the French King accompanied by the Viceroy, Captain Alarcon, with fifty horse, came to the shore of the river that divideth the realm of France from the kingdom of Spaine ; at the same time Mr. de Lautrech with the King’s children, and the like number of horse presenting themselves on the other side. There was in the midst of the river a great barke made fast with ankers, in which was

Throughout this correspondence, in the early reign of Charles the Fifth, and the transactions to which it relates, it is difficult to recognise in the Emperor, the idea of a young man progressing from twenty-three to twenty-six years of age. One is disposed to consider him rather as a person grown old in a course of selfish and subtle diplomacy. Of a nature cold, cautious and circumspect, and phlegmatic temperament, he was early trained to habits of business, in which he took a large share. Though aided by excellent ministers and coun-

no person. The King approached to this barke in a little boate, wherein he was accompanied by the Viceroy, Captain Alarcon and eight others, all armed with short weapons, and on the other side of the barke were likewise brought in a little boate, M. de Lautrech with the hostages, and eight others armed in the same maner. After this, the Viceroy went into the barke with all his company, and the King with them ; and presently after M. de Lautrech, with his eight that accompanied him, so that within the barke there was a like number of both parts ; who when they were all thus within the barke M. de Lautrech fetched out of the boate into the barke, the Dauphin, who being given to the Viceroy, and by him committed to Captain Alarcon was forthwith bestowed in their boate, and after him followed the little Duke of Orleans, who was no sooner entered the barke than the French King leaped out of the barke into his boate with such swiftnesse, that this permutation was thought to be done at one selfe instant, and then the King being brought to the shore mounted suddenly, (as though he had feared some ambush) upon a Turkish horse of a wonderful swiftness, which was prepared for the purpose, and runne without stay to St. John de Lus, a town of his obedience four leagues from thence : and being there readily relieved with a fresh horse, he ranne with the same swiftnesse to Bayon, where he was received with incredible joy of all the Court."

sellors according to the approved views and maxims of the times, whose advice he sought and usually acted upon, his conduct was always measured, and regulated by that calculating policy, which seemed to regard alone his own interest and the consolidation of his power. This may be a legitimate object in the councils of sovereigns, and wise when the true interest is understood, and the calculation just ; but errors in Government as well as in morals, are the sure consequences of wrong calculation, and instances enough are never wanting to exemplify this truth.

The mortal strife and revilings which ensued between these two Princes, it was one time sought to terminate by a duel. This proposal, however, was without effect. The war recommenced and Francis was again beaten. At length both conqueror and conquered grew sick of the conflict, and Europe sighed for peace. At this crisis what the arts of practised statesmen had failed to accomplish, was brought about by that gentler influence to which Schiller ascribes the power to

“Löschen die Zwietracht, die tobend entglüht.”\*

This task was undertaken by those two distinguished ladies, Margaret of Austria, aunt to the Emperor, and Louise of Savoy, mother of the King. They met at Cambray, occupied adjoining houses opening into each other, and had daily conferences unobserved and unattended, without ceremony and without counsellors. They had both great experience in affairs of state, and had perfect confidence in each other. There is a letter

\* “Würde der Frauen.” Schiller’s Gedichte.

of instructions written by Margaret to M. de Rosambés dated Mechlin, the 3rd of January, 1529, and intended to be laid before the Emperor, in which that Princess gives her opinion, and the reasons on which it is founded, why a peace in accordance with the interest of both parties under their peculiar circumstances, could only be concluded by ladies. They are as follows; first, she observes, such had been the bitterness of the reproaches written and spoken on either side, that ill-will and hatred were the inevitable consequences. The hostilities also which ensued, were of a character so fierce and exasperated, that neither of the two Sovereigns could compromise his dignity by being the first to talk of reconciliation, a challenge having been given and accepted for settling the differences and disputes by single combat. On the other hand, how easy for ladies, natural as it would appear, and unsolicited, to concur in some endeavours for warding off the general ruin of Christendom, and to make the first advances in such an undertaking. Secondly, that it is only by a mutual forgiveness of all offences, and the total oblivion of the causes of the war, and of every thing that had passed in writing concerning them, that the idea of peace could be entertained. This could not be thought of, or proposed by the Princes without a sacrifice of what they held most precious, their honour; but ladies might well come forward in a measure for submitting the gratification of private hatred and revenge to the far nobler principle of the welfare of nations. Thirdly, were the King of France to conduct negotiations with the Em-

peror, it would be necessary for him to act with especial reference to allies and co-operators, the Venetians, Florentines, &c.: and here a difficulty would arise in effecting a reconciliation with the Emperor, not to be surmounted without the probability of some stain upon his honour; but the act of the Lady of Angoulême, his mother, would in such case take away all responsibility on the part of the King, whilst a similar advantage would present itself to the Emperor, in silencing the complaints of his friends, who might make objections to the terms of the peace. Again in the event of any of the great powers being called in as mediators in a negotiation, such as England, or the Pope, their own particular interest it is probable would be too much considered, and something perhaps required in little territorial concessions as the price of their interference; whilst the intervention proposed could be subject to no such inconvenience; as the mother of the King and the Aunt of the Emperor who regarded him as her son as well as heir, would keep in view one sole object which they had mutually at heart, the general good of Europe, in the reconciliation of these two great Princes.

Such was the reasoning of the good Governess of the Netherlands, and the endeavours of these ladies terminated in the peace of Cambray, concluded on the 5th of August, 1529, called in history the Ladies' Peace. The terms of this peace were a mitigation of those of the peace of Madrid. The restitution of Burgundy was not for the present to be insisted on, though the claim was still maintained. The sons of Francis were to be libe-

rated on the payment of a ransom, and the marriage with the Emperor's sister was now to be consummated.

Although there is no further correspondence to be produced between these two Sovereigns or their Ministers, it may not be amiss to conclude the subject with some notices of their subsequent quarrels and reconciliations. The Ladies' Peace, though not satisfactory to either of the high contracting powers, lasted till 1536, when, after the death of Francesco Sforza Duke of Milan, the Milanese again became the bone of contention ; and hostilities were resumed. Francis who was as ready to break an engagement, as his more powerful and more fortunate antagonist was to impose one, had been for some time preparing his army for a fresh rencontre. From his presumed right of succession to this Duchy, after several insincere attempts on both sides at negotiation, he had eagerly seized a plea to put his troops in motion and advance towards the frontiers of Italy. Charles on the other hand, was not slow in collecting his army, of which he took the command in person, having under him some of his best generals, the Marquis del Guasto, the Duke of Alva and Antonio de Leyva. The Emperor had lately returned from his brilliant expedition to Tunis ; and somewhat dazzled by his success, and the renown of his achievement, the military movement he now undertook was not directed by his wonted prudence. Contrary to the advice of his distinguished and experienced generals, he determined to invade France without waiting for the reduction of any part of Piedmont, with the sole exception of

such towns as were absolutely necessary for preserving his communication with the Milanese. It was the policy of Montmorency the French General, to lead him on, without risking a battle, as far as possible from his resources. The consequence to the Imperialists was a most disastrous retreat. Half the army perished by disease or famine, among them Antonio de Leyva and other officers of distinction. In other quarters where a descent had been made on the French territory the Emperor's troops were not more successful. The tables were now turned, and Francis was to have his day of triumph. The absurd farce was accordingly enacted, when the French King seated with all due solemnities in the Parliament of Paris surrounded by the Princes and Peers of France, went through the ceremony of having Charles of Austria, as the Emperor was styled, cited to appear before him and answer for his conduct in having violated the treaty of Cambray contrary to his allegiance due to the Crown of Francis, as Count of Artois and Flanders. A Herald was sent to the frontiers of Picardy, and summoned Charles to appear on an appointed day; when, neither he nor any one appearing for him, Charles of Austria was formally declared to have forfeited by rebellion and contumacy those fiefs, which were henceforth united to the Crown of France. This ludicrous scene, little likely to be the harbinger of peace, led to further embroilments when the two Queens again tried their influence in a mediation, but with small effect. At length, through the intervention of the Pope, a truce for ten years was agreed

upon, each party being permitted to hold what by force of arms they had possessed themselves of, that time might be given for the satisfactory settlement of all contending interests. Paul the Third had invited both Sovereigns to a friendly interview at Nice, and both accepted it and appeared ; but so many difficulties arose from the ceremonials to be observed, or more probably from their mutual distrust, that they never personally met. The conference was carried on by the Pope going from one to the other, till after much trouble he gained their agreement to the above mentioned truce on the 18th June, 1538.\*

From Nice Charles accompanied the Pope to Genoa. Thither Francis dispatched a Minister with the request that the Emperor on his returning journey to Spain, would give him the meeting on any part of the French territory most convenient, where they might more cordially confer together, than they were able to do at Nice, embarrassed by the presence and intervention of the Pope. This unlooked for proposal was made at the instance of Queen Eleanora, consort of the King and sister of the Emperor. Charles accepted the invitation, and Aigues Mortes on the coast of Lower Languedoc was the place appointed for their interview. No sooner had Charles come to an anchor in the roadstead, than Francis hastened to visit him on board his galley. The

\* Ranke informs us that this meeting was entirely the work of the Pope ; and that the Venetian Ambassador who was present cannot find words to eulogize the zeal and patience which he displayed throughout the whole affair. It was not till the last moment when he threatened to go away that he succeeded in negotiating a truce.

Emperor held out his hand, which was seized by the King, and the next moment they were in each others arms. "I am come," cried Francis, "to annihilate all our former differences, and to change this ten years truce into an everlasting peace." The Emperor replied in a like tone and spirit, and frankly accepted the King's invitation to a friendly entertainment on shore. The looks of his followers would have warned him of danger, but a refusal would have betrayed a want of confidence which Charles did not feel, or was loth to manifest on an occasion which might be productive of the peace he desired. He accordingly left his galley, and landed with the King at Aigues Mortes, where he was royally entertained. The banquet was followed by a brilliant ball at which both Sovereigns appeared and remained to a late hour.

Charles was lodged in the royal castle ; and the next morning, Francis and the Dauphin waited on him at his levée. The latter presented him the ewer and napkin, which Charles declining to permit, Francis most courteously declared it was his son's duty to perform an office, not unworthy of the King himself, to so great a monarch. They remained another day together, when Francis promised to break of all alliance with the Turk, and to comply with every reasonable wish of the Emperor. On parting, the King presented the Emperor with a valuable ring in pledge of their now confirmed friendship, with the motto engraven within, "*Dilectionis testis et exemplum.*" Charles then returned to his vessel, and next day set sail for Barcelona. In the fol-

lowing year when Charles had occasion to visit the Netherlands on account of the insurrection at Ghent, he accepted Francis's permission most courteously offered, for passing through France as the most convenient route. The Imperial Ministers expressed themselves against this movement; and the Court fool of Francis, Triboulet, recorded his opinion, writing on his master's tablets, "Charles is a greater fool than I am." "How so," said the King, "if I let him travel in safety through my dominions?" "In that case," returned the fool, "I will put out the name of Charles, and put in that of Francis."

But Charles had now learned to understand the man he had to deal with. The magnificence with which he was everywhere received, and the attentions lavished upon him during his journey far exceeded his most sanguine expectations.

These strange transitions from hatred to good will, from mutual insults and injuries to reconciliation and confidence, give a character of almost unnatural romance to the personal history of these rival monarchs.

To act without reflection and most frequently from a generous impulse was the natural disposition of the one—and may it not be, that the cautiousness and sagacity which distinguished the other from his earliest years, improved by experience, might now have led him to engage in a contest more worthy of great Princes—not to be outdone in acts of courtesy and chivalric honour. This feeling, usually most vigorous in early youth, seems to have influenced Charles in an *inverted ratio*; as

he grew older he appears to have learned in some respects to be less suspicious, and more confiding.

The eternal friendship vowed at *Aigues Mortes* did not, however, last for ever. In the subsequent career of these great Sovereigns it met with several interruptions ; but their dissensions, though never quite extinguished until the death of Francis, in 1547, no longer exhibited the same spirit of rancour and personal animosity, which had marked them in former years. This was gradually allayed by the amiable mediation of Eleonora, the wife of one, and sister of the other.

### ELEONORA.

It was not until four years after Queen Eleonora's espousals, when the treaty of Madrid was held to be fulfilled, that this virtuous Princess appeared as Queen on the soil of France.

She was welcomed on the frontier, with all due honours, by the King ; and from her hands he had the happiness of receiving his sons, now restored after their long bondage as hostages ; during which period, Eleonora had watched over their welfare with the care and tenderness of a mother.

To these, and her other claims on his regard, Francis was by no means insensible ; and yet the Queen, though still in the prime of life and possessed of much personal attraction, good understanding, and graceful manners, found herself unable to inspire her consort with any other sentiments than those of respect and gratitude.

A hope had been entertained by those who viewed with enthusiasm the Queen's arrival, that her presence, which was regarded as the harbinger and guarantee of a solid peace, would withdraw her husband from a connection which they could no longer treat with indulgence; but the heart of the volatile King was already too deeply engaged, and Mlle. d'Heilly, afterwards Duchesse d'Estampes, was in the plenitude of her power.

On other points also, the arrival of the Queen had been looked forward to with favorable anticipations.

The new opinions in religion were not without their partisans in France, as well as in the more Catholic Italy, and expectations were entertained, that a character of so much charity and sweetness as distinguished Eleonora, could hardly fail of infusing a spirit of greater toleration than had hitherto been known, into the counsels of the ruling powers.

Théodore de Béze, better known by the latinized name of Beza, who afterwards became the distinguished theologian and eminent friend of Calvin, and who was then a gay youth, frequenting the salons of Paris, and attracting notice as an incipient Reformer, has left us a complimentary document written in her honour, and conceived somewhat in the pedantic taste of the times.

He compares her beauty to that of the Spartan Helen, but how greatly she is superior to the spouse of Menelaus, is shewn in the following couplet :

“ Utraque formosa est, sed re tamen altera major  
Illa serit lites ; Helionora fugat.”

It is not very probable, that this queen, who with all her amiable qualities possessed much of the gravity and coldness of her race and nation, should have completely escaped the inheritance of some of its bigotry also, and have been a very tolerant person in the full sense of the word.

Whether she may have favoured those who incurred persecution on account of their opinions or otherwise, does not appear, but at all events, circumstanced as she was, and in such a court, her influence could not be great.

In the strict performance of all her duties, and the sincerest efforts worthily to fulfil her part as a wife and step-mother, she found her best and truest consolation.

Taking for her model the former wife of Francis, the good Queen Claude, whose memory was held in universal veneration, she peculiarly devoted herself to that Queen's children, and made their welfare, as long as she had the power of benefitting them, the object of her warmest interest.

Eleonora never interfered in politics, unless as a mediatrix of peace between those, whose discord had occasioned her the most cruel sufferings.

After the death of Francis (in 1547) she obtained permission to retire among her own kindred, and first betook herself to the Low Countries, where her sister, the Dowager Queen of Hungary, was Regent.

She afterwards passed into Spain with the intention of seeking a retreat near Charles the Fifth when he

had entered the Monastery of St. Just, and ultimately fixed her abode in the city of Talavera, where she died in the same year as her brother, 1558.

The following domestic description of the Dowager Queen of France, during her widowed retirement at Brussels, is borrowed from Mr. Tytler's very interesting collection of "Original Letters of the times of Edward the Sixth, and Queen Mary."

It is from the pen of the learned and facetious Roger Ascham, well known as the Latin Instructor of Queen Elizabeth, and a friend of Cecil as well as most of the great statesmen and scholars of the age. At one period he was Secretary to Sir Richard Morysine in his embassy to the Emperor; and on his several journeys through the Netherlands and Germany, he kept a journal of his proceedings, in which some humorous and graphic notices are inserted of the distinguished people, who fell in his way.

"Oct. 5th.—We tarried," says he, "at Brussels all Sunday: I went to the Mass, more to see than for devotion, will some of you think. The Regent was with the Emperor at August (Augsbourg); but the French Queen, the Emperor's sister, was there: she came to Mass clad very solemnly all in white cambric, a robe gathered in plaits wrought very fair as need be with needle white work, as white as a dove. A train of ladies followed her, as black and evil as she was white. Her mass was sung in pricksong by French-

men very cunningly, and a gentleman played at the organs excellently. A French Whipit Sir John bestirred himself so at the altar as I wished Patrick by to have learned some of his knacks.

“ The Queen sat in a closet above ; her ladies kneeled all abroad in the chapel among us. The Regent of Flanders had left at Bruxelles a sort of fair lusty young ladies : they came not out, but were kept in mew for fear of gosshawks of Spain and France ; yet they came to (view) and stood above in windows, as well content to show themselves as we to see them.

“ They had on French gowns of black velvet guarded down right from the collar with broad guards, one with another, some of cloth of gold, some of cloth of silver, great chains arr—— (arranged) with precious jewels. On their heads they had glistering cauls of goldsmith work, and black velvet caps above, (with) frills of great agletts of gold, with white feathers round about the compass of their caps. They seemed boys rather than ladies, excellent to have played in tragedies. There was not one well-favoured among them, save one young lady, fair and well-favoured. The Queen went from Mass to dinner ; I followed her, and because we were gentlemen of England, I and another was admitted to come into her chamber where she sat at dinner. She is served with no women, as great states are there in England ; but altogether with men, having their caps on their heads whilst they come into the chamber where she sits, and there one takes off all their caps. I stood very near the table and saw all.

“ Men, as I said, served ; only two women stood

by the fireside not far from the table, for the Chamber was little, and talked very loud and lewdly with whom they would, as methought.

“ This Queen’s service compared with my Lady Elizabeth’s my mistress, is not so princelike nor honorably handled. Her first course was apples, pears, plums, grapes and nuts ; and with this meat she began. Then she had bacon and chickens almost covered with sale onions, that all the chamber smelled of it. She had a roast capoult, and a pasty of wild boar ; and I, thus marking all the behaviour, was content to lose the second course, lest I should have lost mine own dinner at home.”—*Tytler’s England under Edward and Mary*, vol. ii. p. 124.

The Emperor’s other sister Mary, Dowager Queen of Hungary, and Regent of the Netherlands from the death of their aunt Margaret of Savoy until Charles’s abdication, was in some respects a lady of very different stamp from that of the gentle Eleonora. Brantôme speaks of her in his usual strain when lauding Queens and Princesses, as possessing many charms of wit and accomplishments, as well as beauty ; save that the latter was rendered somewhat doubtful by the full projecting nether lip of her family. He admits that her tastes were a little too masculine ; that war and the chase were her favorite pursuits and exercises. This corresponds with the less courtly style of Roger Ascham’s description, who in the journal which has just been quoted, and soon after speaking of the Dowager Queen of France, thus proceeds. “ At this town’s

(Tongres) end, we met the Queen of Hungary posting from Augusta into Flanders, having a thirty in her company, for she had outridden and wearied all the rest, passing that journey in thirteen days, that a man can scarcely do in seventeen. She is a Virago ; she is never so well as when she is flinging on horseback, and hunting all the night long."

Both sisters were equally sincere in a devoted attachment to their brother ; and both accompanied him on his retirement to his convent. They took up their several abodes in neigbouring parts of Spain ; and though they were but once or twice admitted to a sight of Charles in his solitude, they were near at hand ; and each at intervals of not more than a year, followed him to the grave.

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Throughout the contests with Francis, to which the foregoing letters for the most part refer, the Emperor's attention was never diverted from the affairs of Germany, but remained watchfully intent upon the movements of its Princes and people ; with a view to the suppression of Luther's opinions, and of the spread of the principles of the Reformation.

His brother Ferdinand, to whom Charles when elected Emperor, had made over his right to the Austrian territories, thus concentrated under his own government all the German dominions of his family. In addition to this, by one of those\* fortunate marriages, for which the

\* These are celebrated in the well known distich ;

" *Bella gerant alii ; tu, felix Austria, nube.*

*Nam quæ Mars aliis, dat tibi regna Venus.*"

House of Austria has been distinguished (his marriage with Anne, sister of Louis King of Hungary and Bohemia, who fell in the battle of Mohatz with the Turks) through the pretensions of his wife as heir to that Prince, and with the aid of his sister the Dowager Queen of Hungary he obtained these two kingdoms by right of election, and afterwards made them hereditary in his family.

Although a zealous and determined enemy to the Reformation, Ferdinand's prudence and moderation in the entangled and difficult course he had to pursue, has been acknowledged by all parties. The following letter to him from the Emperor bears testimony to these characteristics, and is at the same time no bad sample of the tact and discretion which Charles himself knew how to employ.

COPY OF THE MINUTE OF A LETTER FROM THE EMPEROR TO THE ARCHDUKE FERDINAND HIS BROTHER.

Written at Seville, 26th March, 1526.

1526, 26th March.

“ My good Brother !

I have received your letters of the last of January, the 7th February, and the 1st of this month of March, and rejoice in the good accounts of your health, and that of my good sister your companion. I have already sent you all that we have been able to conclude with regard to the Provincial Diet of your Lands ; and I have good hope, that by this time all things are so well pro-

vided for, that your subjects will not fail to persevere in their loyalty, love and obedience towards you.

“ Should it be otherwise, and should you think that I can from hence be of use to you in any way, you well know that I am as ready to do my best to assist you, as if the affair were my own. Meanwhile my advice would be, to employ, as much as possible, such conciliatory means as I have no doubt you well know how to find, without entering into any spirit of bitterness against your subjects ; in order to endeavour to keep up in their minds a just abhorrence of the evil state of things now prevalent in your country ; for were they to lose this feeling, the consequences might be such as I advise you seriously to reflect upon.

“ With regard to the report you inform me of, that certain cities and towns of our Empire, fearing to be included in the punishment of Luther’s excesses, are practising upon such Princes and persons as they know to be unfavourable to our interests, in order to move and attract them towards themselves, and thus to join in a common cause against us, I could wish, that you had, at the same time, pointed out to me some remedy.

“ I pray you speedily to write me your good advice on this subject, and meanwhile to use what measures you can think of yourself ; for I have no doubt that upon these occasions the best remedy consists in extreme promptness, which you being on the spot, are better able to exercise, than I am from hence ; and as soon as I receive your said advice, I will do my best in the cause.

“I consider your advice very good concerning that which you thought necessary to provide for the Imperial Diet at Spires, should I approve of it ; but following your said advice, I deem it better not to approve of it, and wish you to dissemble and delay, in order to gain time, if it is possible to do so without inconvenience, which I leave to your discretion. At all events I send you the power renewed as you require, including the Bishop of Trent. I have also caused the instructions to be remodelled on the same conditions, and added to them the clause touching our Faith — namely, that nothing should be disturbed, changed or altered in our ancient Belief, and that no innovations whatever should be permitted against the obedience due to the Church ; but that the customs and ceremonies of the same, should be preserved exactly as they have always been kept, believed, and held until my arrival. I am determined not to meddle in any way with dispensing, changing or altering anything in our Faith ; nor will I consent, that in my time our said Faith should receive any offence from the German nation ; by whose example other provinces of Christendom, might become perverted and corrupt, if they saw that I could suffer such things without opposition.

“I assure you, that I have a great wish to go to you myself, and to have a share in the business in hand, and shall do my best to depart about St. John’s day in the month of June if my affairs will permit, as I have already written to you.

“Before, however, I positively advise as aforesaid,

and arrange what concerns my said affairs and my journey, I must find out how the Italians and French are disposed to act, and what chance there is of the Pope and Potentates of Italy entering into an alliance with me as I wish, and whether they still intend to dissemble, or declare themselves openly. Whenever I know this myself, you shall have due notice of the same ; but at all events you had better be prepared, seeing that in any case I shall remain constant to whatever decision I may come to. I have had from the Pope a letter similar to yours touching the invasion of Hungary by the Turk. I do not know what to think of it. You are aware how often such reports have been spread over Italy ; for which reason His Holiness ought the more readily to accept a capitulation with us, in order to provide for the relief of Christendom. Also he should send the *crusados* which I have asked for.

“ You will oblige me if you can obtain any accurate information from people that may be relied upon, touching the intentions of the said Turk, and let me know the result, along with your own advice how to act. After which I will undertake to resist him with all my power, hoping for due assistance from all the other Princes, as so important an occasion would require.

“ I have heard from Salines of what you wrote to him concerning the affairs in that quarter, and other things of which he has given me an ample relation.

“ I thank you for your satisfactory notices, to which you will find my answer in the letter I have sent by Don Pedro de Cordona. You can write your reply on all

these matters by the bearer of this dispatch, whom I send to you for the purpose.

"Duke Henry of Brunswick\* has been here, to treat of the proceedings against Luther, which he had already notified by a writing, a copy of which is sent for your information. I have hastened the departure of the said Duke with credentials such as he wished for, referring him for the interpretation of the said credentials to the instructions which I have therewith given him ; of which this is the substance ; to keep alive the good feeling in those who are favourably disposed towards our Faith, and to try and win over to the right side those who have seceded ; as you will see more in detail by the said writing. This, it appeared to me could not fail to be of some use.

"I am very sorry for the death of our sister the Queen of Denmark ; and have taken care that prayers should be said for the repose of her soul. I would willingly recommend to you her children our nephews, who are at present in the hands of our dear Aunt in Flanders.

"The King of France was restored to his kingdom on the 17th of this month, on my receiving the Dauphin and Duke of Orleans as hostages, whom I have desired

\* This appears to have been the Duke Henry of Brunswick, a rash and furious bigot, who afterwards on account of his oppression of some Protestant districts which had taken part in the League of Smalcalde, brought upon himself the vengeance of the Elector of Saxony and Landgrave of Hesse, who drove him from his dominions as a wretched exile to take refuge in the Court of Bavaria.

to be taken to Burgos ; and the said King of France promises to accomplish all that he has engaged in by the treaty of peace ; I have now entered upon the estate of marriage, which pleases me well ; and hereupon, my good brother, I pray God to grant you all your heart desires most. Written at Seville, the 25th day of March, 1526.

The following from Ferdinand to his sister justifies the favourable opinion of his discretion which was entertained by the Emperor, and gently intimates a sort of suspicion that the Dowager Queen, to whom it is addressed, was not quite so unmoved by the doctrines of Luther, as he could have wished.

The injustice of this suspicion seems acknowledged in the second of these letters.

ARCHDUKE FERDINAND KING OF HUNGARY AND BOHEMIA, TO HIS SISTER THE QUEEN DOWAGER OF HUNGARY AND BOHEMIA.

Olmütz, 19th April, 1527.

" Madam, my good sister,

I humbly and affectionately recommend myself to your good favour. Madam, I have received the letter which you were so good as to write to me in answer to mine which I sent to you along with Luther's book. I can well suppose that neither you nor I can prevent Luther from writing whatever he pleases, but I can only hope that he will never address to me a laudatory book, purporting that I favour and maintain the doctrine

which he calls *the Gospel*. I am sure that you, as a wise and Christian Princess, will know how to conduct yourself as you wrote me word. I will therefore not trouble you with any repetitions on this subject; I will only entreat you to be cautious respecting two points to which you have made no reply, namely, as to reading his books printed at Antwerp, and the care necessary to be taken that all the persons about you should so conduct themselves as to give no occasion to any reports of your becoming a Lutheran convert, as some are beginning to fear and to whisper.

"I pray you to pardon me, if I have said too much about this affair, for certes, Madame, my good sister, I do it only from motives of kindness and fraternal love, because the times in which we live demand that every one should keep his conscience clear; and God knows I have no other motive in writing this.

"I pray the Creator to grant you Madam, my good sister, a happy and long life. From Olmütz on Good Friday, 19th April.

Your good and humble brother,  
FERDINAND."

#### FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

Schweidnitz, 21st May, 1527.

"I received at the same time by the bearer above mentioned (l'Evêque de Labach) your reply. Long acquainted, Madam, with your sentiments, I now only rest the more satisfied by this letter, and live in the

fullest confidence, that your behaviour will accord with your expressions to me. On the other hand I beg you to believe, that the whole world would not avail to cause in me the slightest mistrust or ill will towards your person; and I hold myself convinced that the same would be precisely the case with you in that I am concerned. Neither secret nor false notions of delicacy should be allowed to interpose between brother and sister. I reserve the rest until our meeting. I hope soon with the blessing of God to be with you again."

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Before passing on to a correspondence of the Emperor's Ambassadors in England, the subject of his Italian wars may be here closed with the following letter from his trusty veteran Antonio de Leyva, who had commanded at Pavia during the siege, and had a principal share with Bourbon and Pescara in the military operations afterwards.

He here describes the condition of the army in Lombardy after the assault of Rome, and of the unhappy provinces subject to its sway and depredations.

The original letter is in Spanish.

Antonio de Leyva appears to have been a person no wise indebted to a noble ancestry for his distinction, but one who had recommended himself to the notice of the Emperor by his zeal and valour, first in a subordinate rank, and afterwards as a general in the Italian wars. Notwithstanding the disadvantages of a weak

and poor constitution he was enabled to display his eminently warlike qualities in every affair in which he was engaged ; and especially in his great exploit the defence of Pavia, and his part in the subsequent victory. Brantôme thus describes his personal infirmities even at the period of his most brilliant services. “ He was gouty and sickly, usually in bodily pain and suffering. In combat with the enemy he was often carried about in a sort of chair, as if he were on horseback. He thus took towns and fortresses.” “ What would such a man have done,” adds this writer, “ had he possessed the full use of his limbs ; every one thought he would have faced the devil.”

Leyva was the only one among the Emperor’s great Captains, who was favorable to that unfortunate movement, the invasion of Provence in the year 1536. Anticipating a triumphant march to Paris, “ all I ask,” said the veteran, “ as my share in the recompence, is a tomb at St. Denis.” The event fell out otherwise. He died, a victim to the disease and hardships they had to encounter, through which, more than half the army perished. A tomb, it is true, awaited him at St. Denis, as had been foretold by a monk, before he started on this expedition, —— but it was the St. Denis of Milan. Brantôme alludes to some early failure of De Leyva in the battle of Ravenna, which was amply repaired by his subsequent services. Speaking also of his spoliation of the Churches of Pavia in order to provide pay for his troops, then in a state of mutiny for want of it ; “ this robbery,” he says, “ was

committed under a most solemn vow of restitution, which neither he nor his master ever thought afterwards of fulfilling, verifying the proverb, “*le peril passé on se moque du Saint.*” “If the Emperor,” he continues, “had in some measure followed the example of his brave ancestor Charles Duke of Burgundy, who in repentance and self reproach for his rigorous treatment of the city of Liege, when in rebellion against him, presented, on taking it, a Saint George on horseback in pure gold to the great Church, all might have been right : if for example he had given to the Church of Pavia only one *little* Saint, still he might have been accounted a religious and conscientious Prince ! But with such a matter, this Gallant never troubled himself. With him it was quite enough to reserve for his last days of penitence and contrition the reparation of all the sins he had ever committed from the days of Pavia to the end of life.”

Whatever might have been De Leyva’s share in these misdemeanours ; from his success in war and the Emperor’s favour, he obtained great wealth and accumulated honours. He died Prince of Ascoli, Duke of Terra nova, Marquis of Antilles, and Primate of the Canary Islands, leaving sons and daughters richly endowed, and connected by marriage with some of the greatest families of Spain.

LETTER FROM DON ANTONIO DE LEYVA, TO THE  
EMPEROR CHARLES THE FIFTH.

Dated Milan, June 22nd, 1527.

“ Most Sacred Imperial Majesty,

I have received Your Majesty’s letters of the dates of February 18th, March 27th, April 21st, and May 13th and 22nd. For the good news of the birth of his most Serene Highness the Prince, I offer many thanks to God, and humbly kiss Your Majesty’s Imperial hands and feet, praying that Our Lord will be pleased to make the Prince as fortunate as he has made Your Majesty. It appears to me that God has ordained all things in the best manner for enabling Your Majesty to take possession of Rome, and I pray to Heaven that your Majesty will advance further still, even beyond Jerusalem.

“ By Riva de Nera, and under date of the 19th of May, I wrote to your Majesty all that had taken place up to that time. What has since occurred in Rome your Majesty will see from the copy of the Abbate de Nazarra’s letter, and the capitulation entered into with the Pope, which I sent to you, and by which you will see all that has happened. What has occurred here, I will communicate to your Majesty as follows :— The Venetians, and Duke Francisco have raised a new levy of forty-eight thousand infantry, and the said Duke has come to Lodi, charged with the capture of Milan, on the part of France. Conde Pedro Navarro has arrived at Asti with the troops he had in Savonna ; and in Pie-

mont, they have six thousand more infantry. By intelligence from France it is understood, that Monsieur de Lautrec is coming with eight hundred lances. Such are the preparations made by the enemy up to the present time.

" In Switzerland a diet has been held at Lucerne, where the King of France applied for ten thousand men. But this application was not granted, and accordingly another Diet has been convoked at Odenwald. Its sittings commenced on the 17th of this month, and I am informed, for a certainty, that the troops will be granted. I have put myself in a state of defence at all points, in the best manner I can, and lest the enemy should come upon me by the way of Asti, I have sent Count Batisto Lodron, with one thousand eight hundred Germans, two hundred Spaniards, five hundred Italians, (four hundred light horse and one hundred lances) and I trust in God that these will defend the Province of Alessandria, as long as may be requisite for provisioning these territories, and then I will endeavour to send away the German troops. I will go to meet Duke Francisco and the Venetians, and I trust that God and Your Majesty's good fortune will aid me; for though the enemy is more numerous than ourselves we will stand on our guard in such wise as will give Your Majesty satisfaction.

" The hundred thousand ducats sent by Your Majesty have arrived at Genoa. They are reduced to sixty-three thousand by reason of certain debts of the Duke de Bourbon, respecting which the ambassador

will speak with Your Majesty more at large. There has been some difficulty about the delivery of this money, the Duke de Bourbon being no longer alive; but considering the strait to which the army is reduced I trust it will be remitted to us, that we may be enabled to give some pay to the troops. I hope that soon your Majesty's army of Rome will return, which I pray for.—With its help, and the army here, we may so harass the Venetians, as to force them to conclude the solid peace desired by Your Majesty, or make them pay by war, for their sins. These Germans, if more money do not arrive, will not go from hence for more than fifteen or twenty days, and then they would immediately come back, for eight months pay is due to them, and they allege that the Duke de Bourbon (who is in Glory) gave them leave to hold this state in pledge, till such time as they receive payment. They say that he even gave them permission to sack it, and to do in it as they please, which in truth they do, for they hold complete supremacy here, and give me much trouble. I implore your Majesty to order something for relieving the necessity to which this state is reduced; for at present it yields nothing, nor can it yield anything until the removal of these troops who are living here according to their own pleasure. If they were removed, I believe this state would be very productive, especially now with the addition of Placentia and Parma. I did not concern myself about the revenue of the said state, as long as the said Duke of Bourbon lived, for he had his French Officers, who, whatever the State might

produce, consumed it in whatever way they liked ; but even that did not satisfy them, inasmuch as they have mortgaged a great part of the future products, which mortgage however, I shall not certify (because of the death of the Duke) until we shall know the correctness of these claims.

"I have placed the Officers of the Council and the Clerks, on your Majesty's rations. These are the same persons who filled the appointments when this State first fell into your Majesty's possession, and the appointments were confirmed by the Duke de Bourbon. They are men who will serve your Majesty well, in all that concerns the State. Your Majesty may rest assured that I will render account of everything even to a Maravedi, and that no money whatsoever shall be expended, save such as cannot be avoided.

"The Government functions of this State are vested in the persons of whose names I send Your Majesty a list. They are all natives of this State, as it is proper they should be, for otherwise it would not be possible to rule here. I certify to your Majesty, that they are worthy to fill those posts, and even higher ones. They have willingly devoted themselves, their wives, their children and their property to Your Majesty's service. I beseech you therefore, to retain them in their posts, and to confirm their appointments, which they are well deserving of, and they will set before others a good example of dutiful service.

"Jean Baptisto Gastaldo writes to me that Your Majesty is not pleased I should have sought leave of

absence ; but truly, I have implored Your Majesty to grant that leave solely by reason of the extremely bad state of my health. So great is my will to serve Your Majesty, that I fear your service may have suffered through my illness. If Your Majesty be truly informed, you will know well, that I have no other thought in life, save how I can best serve you ; so that if, in spite of my indisposition, Your Majesty be well served, I cannot do otherwise than rest satisfied with whatsoever you may determine. But if, in consequence of my indisposition, Your Majesty has not been so well served as I could have wished, I beg you will believe it to be owing to my want of power to do more ; in consideration whereof I beseech Your Majesty to remember my past honourable service, in such manner as I think is merited, and as Your Majesty is wont to do by those who serve you well and faithfully.

“ I informed Your Majesty, in my letter of the 19th of the condition of this fortress of Milan. The Commandant is a Frenchman, named Monsieur de Tansan, and to speak truth, he is so crack-brained, that in my opinion, he is not worthy to have charge of this fortress, nor even to be entrusted with the keeping of the meanest habitation in the world. In the fortress there are a hundred and twenty Spaniards, and as many Germans, and all (commanders as well as men) have taken oath of fealty to Your Majesty, whom they will faithfully serve. There remain, in the fortress, only four hundred and twenty Frenchmen, and great watchfulness is observed in keeping guard by night and by day, so that no mischief may happen.

“I am not authorized by Your Majesty to do many things, which ought to be done; but seeing how matters go, I humbly implore you will give orders for their being looked to without delay.

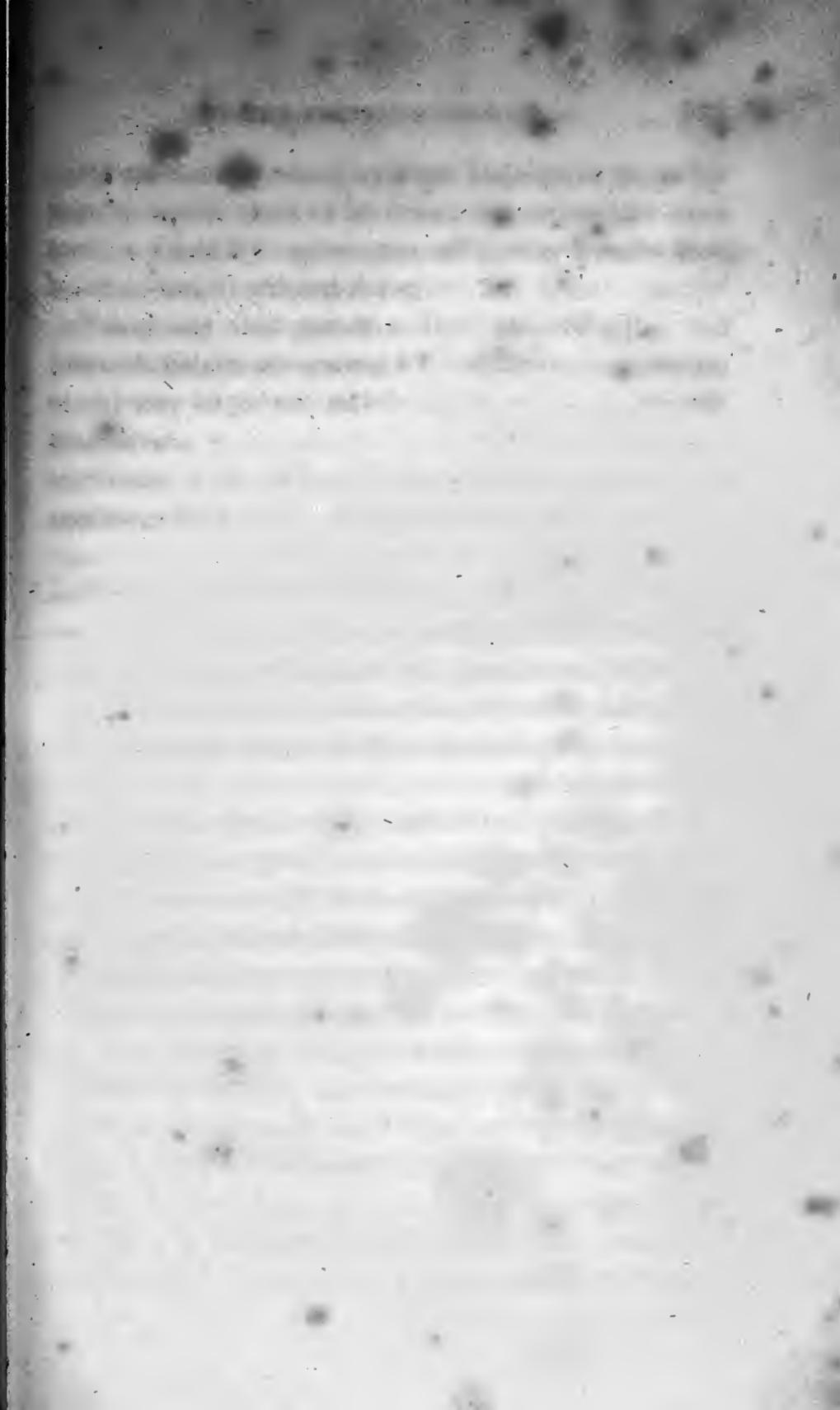
“And may God preserve Your Majesty’s life, and Imperial Estate, prospering your dominions by addition of as many kingdoms and lordships as Your Majesty may desire.

“From Your Majesty’s most humble subject and servant, who kisses Your Imperial feet and hands.

“Milan, June 22nd, 1527.”

ANTONIO DE LEYVA.





Fac Simile of the Handwriting of the Constable of Bourbon, from a  
Letter to the Emperor Charles V<sup>th</sup> dated 25<sup>th</sup> January 1524.

Duc de Bourbon et le baron  
de Bourbon  
Ferdinand Alcalde

Votre tres humble &  
tres obéissant serviteur.

Fac Simile of the Handwriting of Ferdinand brother of  
Charles V<sup>th</sup> afterwards Emperor.

Ycclre humble et  
irroble fait par  
Ferdinand

*Fac Simile of the Handwriting of the Duchess of Alençon  
from a letter to the Emperor Charles V<sup>th</sup> 1525.*

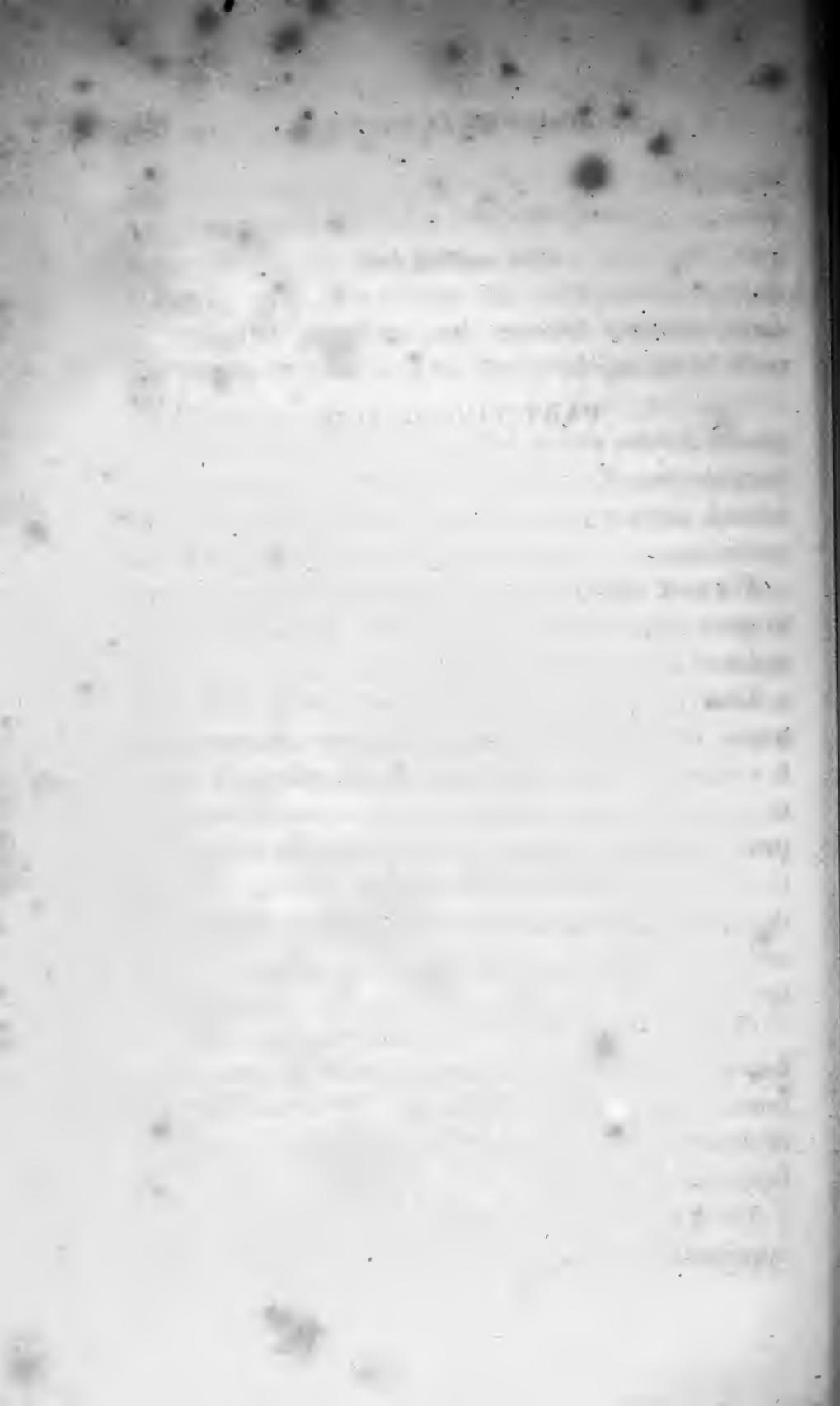
*Madame la reine ma mere  
me regnante*

*Votre tres humble  
Margarete/*

*Fac Simile of the Handwriting of Louise, Mother of  
France 1<sup>st</sup> from a letter to the Emperor dated June 1525.*

*La plus vaste humilité  
Louise*

*La plus vaste humilité  
Louise*



## PART THE SECOND.

We now leave the affairs of the Continent, and come to some dispatches of Chapuys the Emperor's Ambassador at the Court of London.

Little need be said as introductory to these letters on a subject of English History well known to every English reader. They will soon be found sufficiently to tell their own story in illustrating the character of some prominent personages of the Privy Council, and giving, in a long conference with Henry the Eighth, a graphic description of his bluff Majesty, in his straight-forward and shrewd remarks on the fine-drawn policy of Charles the Fifth.

Chapuys is the *Capucius* of Shakespeare ; brought forward only in one striking and touching scene, his interview with Queen Catharine. In several passages of these letters, he appears to have been her zealous and honest advocate.

He was Counsellor of State to the Emperor and appointed his Ambassador in London in 1529.

## CHAPUYS TO THE EMPEROR.

25th October, 1529.

“ Sire !

With the sincerest and greatest possible humility I recommend myself to the good graces of Your Majesty.

“ Sire ! On Thursday the 21st of this present month, having received the letters which Your Majesty deigned to write to me, from Placentia, and therein having learned Your Majesty’s good pleasure, I incontinently dispatched one of my people to the Court, which was then at Winnesor [Windsor] to advertize the King of the letters which I had received for him, and the charge with which I was commissioned ; namely, to make a communication to him in person, whenever he might please to grant me an audience ; and the sooner I

LETTRE DU SIEUR CHAPUIS, AMBASSADEUR DE L’EMPEREUR EN ANGLETERRE.

Ecrite au dit Empereur de Londres, le 25 d’8bre, 1529.

Une partie de la lettre est ecrite en chiffre.

“ Sire, Tant et si très humblement que puys, à la bonne grace du Vre. Majesté me recommande.

Sire, Jeudy 21e, du present, je reçeu les lettres qu’il a pleu à votre Majesté m’envoyer dattées en Plaisance, et entendu le bon playsir d’jcelle, je despachey jncontinent ung des miens, vers le Roy, estant à Winnesor, l’advertissant des lettres, qu’avées à luy, avec charge de luy dire quelque chose de la part de vôtre Majesté, et qu’il luy pleust me donner jour et lieu d’audience et le plus toust qu’il seroit possible, pour ce qu’il me sembloit que la matiere le requeroit, cepen-

begged to intimate, the better, as the matter appeared to admit of no delay. In furtherance thereof, Sire ! upon the same day, having perceived that the administration of affairs had fallen principally into the hands of the Duke of Nolphocq (Norfolk) and as the game on foot was more to his taste, and more agreeable to communicate than the circumstances of the marriage, for reasons which I lately wrote to Your Majesty, the issue of the affairs of the Cardinal having now moreover reached its crisis, (who on the festival of St. Luke the Evangelist, was himself, so to speak, disengaged, set aside and deprived of the office of Chancellor, and of his seat in the King's Council), all scruples being thus removed, which had hitherto restrained me from paying my court to the Duke ; I hastened to visit him at his lodgings in the said city. I was received by him with much graciousness and distinction, and having presented my letters with some excuse for any appearance of dilatori-

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dant, Sire, et le dit mesme jour pour non perdre Temps, voyant le Gouvernement Tumber principalement entre les mains du Duc de Nolphocq estant survenu matiere plus de son gibier, et plus agréable pour luy communiquer, que celle du mariage par les Raisons qu'aye nagaires escris a Votre Majesté ; estant aussi venue l'occasion que de longtemps aves espie de savoir l'issue des affaires du Cardinal, lequel fust le jour de Saint Lucas Evangeliste desevangélisé, demys et privé du scelz et office de Chancellier, et de Conseiller du Roy, et par ce moyen cessoient les scrupules et respectz que m'avoint gardés d'aller veoir le dit Duc. Je le fus visiter en son lougis en ceste ville ; il me recuylist fort honnorablement, et amyablement, luy ayant les lettres de Votre Majesté présenté, et fayt aucunes excuses de les avoer

ness, which was taken in very good part, I expressed the high esteem in which Your Majesty had always regarded him, not only for the good will he had invariably shewn in your affairs, but for his own especial merits, as well as the personal affection he had so long manifested towards Your Majesty, which was further shewn in the late treaty of peace, affording as it did a proof the more, that he who had had a hand in negotiating it, would continue by his mediation to render it durable and permanent. To this I added a few complimentary phrases of my own, tending to the same effect.

“ He appeared, to judge from his mien, highly gratified, and having cordially thanked Your Majesty for your gracious recollection, and good disposition in his favour, he assured me that his own feelings, and affections towards Your Majesty, were born with him, and could not be otherwise without disgracing his father,

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tant gardées, ce qu'il print de bonne part, je luy declairey l'extime en quoy votre Majesté l'avoit toujours tenu a la bonne voulenté qu'Elle luy avoit continuallement portée, et ce tant pour la vertu de luy, que aussy pour l'affection que de long temps il avoit monstré envers Votre Majesté, en laquelle pensoit Votre d<sup>e</sup> Majesté, continueroit attendu mesmement le nouveau traitté depaix entre Votre Majesté et le Roy son maistre, se confiant jcelle, qu'il seroit celluy que seroit le mediateur et tiendroit main à la perpetuelle conservation de la dite paix, Et luy adjoustey beaucoup d'autres gracieuses parolles de moy mesmes, que me sembloint servir à l'affére. Il fust à sa mine tres joyeux, et après avoir remercié Votre Majesté de sa bonne souvenance et voulenté, il me dit, quant à l'affection qu'il avoit toujours porté et heu envers Votre Majesté, qu'elle ne commonçoit de maintenant, ains, qu'il avoit apporté du ventre de sa mere, et que sans forligner ou se desavoer heretier de son pere il ne povoit l'avoer autre,

and all his ancestors, who had been each in their turn devoted adherents to the House of Burgundy ; and to prove the truth of this as far as he was concerned, he prayed God, that it might please Him and the King his master to permit him now to serve Your Majesty and the King of Hungary against the Turk.

“ Concerning the peace and amity of which I had spoken, there was not a person, he maintained, in England, who lamented the late discord and disagreement more than himself, or who more cordially rejoiced at this happy change. All the evil and misunderstanding, which had led to the former state of things, he did not hesitate to ascribe to the falsehood of those who then directed the Kings Councils, and who acted often from their own will and authority, with which, the King himself was not unfrequently dissatisfied ; a truth which he would sufficiently shew, before many days were past.

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car son dit pere, et tous ses ancetres avoient toujours esté desdiés au service de la maison de Bourgogne, et que pour donner meilleure tenuage de sa dite affection, et desir de servir, qu'il voudroit bien qu'il pleust à Dieu et au Roy son maistre qu'il peust aller maintenant servir Votre Majesté, et le Roy d'Hongrie contre le Turc ; Touchant la paix et amitié dont luy aves parlé, qu'il me pouvoit bien asseurer, que d'autant qu'il n'y avoit nul en Angleterre, que eust esté plus desplaystant des discordes et facheries passés, aussy n'a voit il personne qui fut plus joyeux, des d<sup>e</sup> paix et amitié, et que ce qu'avoit esté demené en ce quartier, c'estoit esté par la fauseté de ceux que lors avoient les affaires entre mains, que donnoint entendre beaucop bourdes, et que pis est, faisant la pluspart de telz afferes de leur propre voulenté et auctorité, dont le Roy n'en avoit esté content, comment il feroit apparoistre dans peu de jours ; et au regard de l'entretenement

As to the aforesaid peace and amity, all his influence he protested should be used in its maintenance, and in this he anticipated not the smallest difficulty on the part of the King, whose perfect sincerity and concurrence in the measure, no one could dispute.

“ Having replied, Sire, with some complimentary expressions which it would be superfluous to write, I proceeded to the matter in hand the most pressing, namely, the affair with the Turk ; and here, after lauding the magnanimous and most virtuous feelings which urged him to share in so holy an enterprize, and now led him to enter upon so interesting a topic, I informed him, that this was the very point, on which I had to solicit his attention, and the principal object of my seeking the present conference ; but that from what had already fallen from him, and which I had heard with so much satisfaction, that I would now no further urge this subject, but earnestly entreat him to continue in the same most laudable desire, and to use every effort in persuad-

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des d<sup>s</sup> paix et amitié qu'il se employeroit de son entier pouvoir. En quoy du cousté du Roy ne pensoit avoir grand travail, venu la grande et parfaite jnclination que le Roy y avoit Sire, luy ayant usé de quelques gracieuses parolles pour la Responce des siennes que seroit superflue escrire, je vins à ce que justoit le plus, qu'estoit de l'affere du Turc, et commençay à louer la magnanime et tres vertueuse voulénté qu'il avoit d'aller à ceste tant saincte Entrepinse, luy disant que puis qu'il avoit fait l'envy en ce jeu, en entamant le propos, qu'estoit le point ou l'attendois, et duquel principalement luy voulois parler, que je le renvierés, en luy priant premierement au nom de Dieu de l'affere du quel il se agist, et de la part de Votre Majesté, que perseverant et continuant en son d<sup>t</sup> louable propos, il voulsist tenir main

ing the King, not only for the sake of his own virtue, magnanimity, and credit as defender of the faith, but for the interest he had, in common with every other Christian Prince, to resist and oppose with all his energy this mortal enemy and cruel tyrant the Turk.

“ Recurring to the subject of the happy peace, which the King of England had employed so much pains to establish, I took the opportunity of observing, that there still remained an affair to be settled, the accomplishment of which remained wholly in the power of the King himself, and would redound more to his tranquillity and honour, before God and man, than any thing he had yet achieved, namely, the unhappy difference between himself and the Queen ; on which so many exhortations and remonstrances of the most gracious, and yet urgent nature had been offered by your Majesty. Presuming that the Duke had heard all this from the King, I said I would make no further allusion to the subject, than to

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et persuader que le Roy pour sa magnanimité et vertu, pour le debvoir de sa dignité et nom de protecteur, et pour ce qu'il luy touche comme aux autres Princes, voulsist entendre à proveoir pour la Resistance de mortel Ennemy et cruel tiran.

“ Puis retombismes en propos de la bonne euvre de ceste paix, et de la peine que par cy devant le Roy d'Angleterre y avoit prisne pour l'effectuer ; surquoy prins l'occasion de luy dire, que encoires restoit il ung accort à fere, qu'estoit au pouvoir du Roy, duquel, s'il y voulait entendre, il en acqueroit ung grand repos et inestimable honneur devant Dieu et le monde, et plus que des autres qu'il avait tant procurés, et estoit celluy d'entre la Royne et luy, sur lequel en avoit fayt au dit Roy de la part de Votre Majesté de fort honestes et gracieuses Remonstrances et amyables enhortacions et requestes, comme

observe that however strongly and favourably, he might feel from family considerations\* with regard to the marriage in question, Your Majesty was no less fully sensible that he, the Duke, as a true Knight could not act otherwise, even were it the case of his own daughter, than as honour, virtue, and conscience would direct ; and was therefore incapable of instituting and following up, or even of consenting to any process in a case of such grave and important consequences, without manifest reason ; and that Your Majesty was perfectly convinced that the Duke had neither been the promoter nor counsellor of such a step.

“ The Duke replied, that willingly he would have parted with one of his hands rather than a question should ever have arisen on such a point ; not that he himself had been a party at all appealed to ; for as it was an affair wholly of law and conscience, the King

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presuppousés il auroit entendu du Roy, que me garderois luy en tenir aultre propos ; seulement le voules je bien advertir que combien que Votre Majesté sçeut le debvoir et parentage qu'il avoit avec celle du mariage de laquelle il se traittoit, toutes fois, que Votre Majesté le tenoit pourtant Chevalier d'honneur, vertu et conscience, que quant seroit pour sa fille propre, il ne voudroit non seulement ne practiquer ne poursuivre, mais aussy consentir que l'on entreprint sans manifeste raison ung cas de tel jimportance et consequence : et que Votre Majesté sçavoit certainement, qu'il n'en avoit esté promoteur, ne conseillant tel affere.

“ A ce, il me repondist, qu'il voudroit luy heû cousté une de ses propres mains, et qu'il n'eust jamais esté question de ce dit affere. Et que en ce n'avoit oncques esté appellé, car comme c'est chose de

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\* The Duke was uncle to Anne Boleyn,

had submitted it to the consideration and discussion only of Ecclesiastics, of Doctors and other learned people, of whom a large portion had been found to pronounce against the validity of the existing marriage, but whose opinion he was very unwilling to adopt, unless he found it confirmed by the highest written authorities which he most diligently consulted. And with regard to the brief of dispensation held in Your Majesty's hands, the King, he declared, would consider himself the most abused Prince in Christendom, if the said document touching the marriage were not found to be invalid and illegal ; since many of the highest credit and learning had not hesitated to force on him their conviction to this effect, as he believed, I had already heard from the King himself.

" He further went on to say that if Your Majesty had not so openly taken the part of the Queen, but had remained neutral, the affair would have probably been the

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lettres et conscience, le Roy l'avoit tant seulement communiqué et desbattue avec Ecclesiastiques, Docteurs et autres gens de lettre, lesquieus le Roy avoit trouvé grand nombre luy affirmant et assurant l'invalidité du mariage, auxquieus toutes fois, le Roy n'avoit voulu adjouster parfaytte foy, sans le voir dans les livres, lesquieus jl avoit sur ce très diligenterment visités ; Et que touchant le briefz de la dispensation du mariage qu'estoit entre les mains de Votre Majesté, que le Roy se trouveroit le plus abusé prince du monde, si le dit brefz n'estoit reprouvé de faulceté, venu que tant de gens l'en avoient si trèsfort assuré, comme il pensoit que le Roy m'avoit dehu dire ; et en oultre qu'il croyoit que si Votre Majesté n'eust pris tant à l'ouverte la part de la Royne, et qu'elle fust demeuré neutrale, que peust-estre que l'affaire fus plustoust vuydé, et qu'il avoit semblé estrange au

sooner brought to a satisfactory issue ; and that it could not appear otherwise than strange that whilst he, of all persons in the world the most interested in the process, had never considered or declared himself a party concerned in it, Your Majesty should have been formally held forth and proclaimed as such.

" I recapitulated to him in reply the reasons which had influenced Your Majesty, and the constraint which had been imposed upon you in this particular. At the same time I could not but remark that the dissimulation of the King, not to appear himself in the proceeding, was but too manifest both from his acts before the Cardinals, and from what his Ambassadors had done, and were still doing at Rome. On this, perceiving that the Duke appeared thoughtful, I thought it best to changethe subject, remarking only that I had been led to make the foregoing observation, not more for the justification of Your Majesty than to shew the confidence you were willing to repose in the Duke's integrity and virtue.

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Roy, que puisque luy, à qui attouchoit plus l'affere que à personne du monde, ne c'estoit jamais constitué ne declayré part au procées que Votre Majesté heust fayt partie formelle en ce cas. Je luy dis les raisons qu' avoient nonseullement esmeu Votre Majesté à ce fere, maisque l'en avoient constrainct, et que la dissimulacion dont le Roy usoit, de n'avoir fait part, estoit trop cogneu par les actes, qu'il avoit fait devant les Cardinaux, et ceux que continuallement avoit fait et faisoint ses Ambassadeures à Rome. Sur ce il demeura pensant, quoy voyant, je luy dis changeons propoz ; je vous ay bien voulu dire ce que dessus, tant pour la justificacion de sa Majesté, que pour vous donner entendre la confiance que j'celle a de vostre honesteté et vertu.

“ Sire ! After the aforesaid passages between us, the Duke turning to me full of gaiety said, ‘ how delighted the Emperor will be to hear of the ruin of the Cardinal.’ ‘ I think he will,’ I answered ; ‘ but not from any positive hatred he bears him, for whatever his disposition might have been, his incapacity to render either good or evil to the Emperor was sufficiently apparent, and as he was not of such consideration as to excite any vindictive feeling, the Emperor will make no great matter of his downfall.’ ‘ The pleasure,’ I added, ‘ which Your Majesty would certainly derive from this circumstance was, that the King whose welfare, honour and prosperity were as dear to Your Majesty as your own, would begin clearly to find out from experience those who had proved themselves evil counsellors, and who sought in all their proceedings, to serve only their own especial profit and advantage.’ I further remarked, ‘ that

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“ Sire ! apres les Susd<sup>es</sup> devises, il me vint à dire tout en ryant, or maintenant sera bien ayse l’Empereur d’entendre ceste ruyne du Cardinal, et qu’il soit deposé de son office, et Privé du Conseil du Roy, je respondis que ainsi le pensez-je, non point pour hayne que Votre Majesté portast au dit Cardinal ; car combien jl en heust donné assés suffisante occasion, toutesfois, pour estre l’homme que ne pouvoit fere ne bien ne mal à Votre Majesté, et n’estoit de tel Etoffe que icelle desira ne vousist se vanger de lui ; pourquoy à ce respect Votre Majesté ne feroit grand cas de son tresbuchement.

“ Et le plaisir que icelle en aura, sera pourvoir que le Roy, duquel Votre Majesté desire le Bien, honneur et prosperité comme la sienne propre, commence à clerement cognoistre ceux que par le passé l’ont mal conseillé, et que ne tachoient que servir à leur commodités, proufitz et affections particulières ; aussy pour autant que Votre Majesté

the management of affairs would now fall into the hands of men better fitted by their birth and nobility to promote the happiness and honour of the King and kingdom, as well as the preservation of sincere and ancient alliances of late so much lost sight of; especially since he himself, in whom Your Majesty placed more confidence than in any one else in England was now seated at the head of the Government.'

"I afterwards took occasion to say for his still greater gratification, 'that as I had been the first to break the long chain of custom of paying court to the Cardinal, I was the first Ambassador also, who had the honour of transacting business with him. And that even before I had addressed myself to the King on the subject of the letters which had been confided to me by Your Majesty, I had hastened to communicate their purport to him, in order that should the King refer the negotiation to some other person, this previous conference might

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verroit que le maniement des afferes seroit devoulus en mains degens, que oultre ce que par nature de sang et noblesse de ceur auroint plus esgard au Bien et honneur du Roy et Royaume, si auroint-ils aussi à la conservacion des vrayes et anciennes amitiés, ce que l'on n'avoit fait ses prouchaines années passées, mesmement estant luy l'ung et principal du Gouvernement et celuy duquel en Angleterre sa Majesté avoit plus de confience. Subsequemment, pour plus amplement luy gratififier, je luy dis, que comme j'avois esté le premier Ambassadeur q'avois rompu la Chance d'aller visiter le Cardinal ainsi desires-je, estre le premier que luy fis tomber les afferes entre mains; et qu' avant qu'avoir parlé au Roy des nouvelles que m'estoient survenues de la part de Votre Majesté je m'estoisois devancé pour les luy communiquer, affin que venant le cas que le Roy me deust remettre avec

prove the occasion of its being entrusted to him.' He thanked me abundantly for this intention, and for the good will I had manifested, observing that 'affairs of State were not conducted by any one individual, but by the Council in general, where he usually assisted ;' and whatever concerned the service of Your Majesty, he assured me, should never want the best of his exertion in its favour.

"Sire! Although I had already sent one of my Secretaries to the King ; yet in order the more to gratify the said Duke with the idea that I sought to conduct the affairs of Your Majesty through his advice and management, I asked what I ought to do, and whether I should not on similar occasions to the present, first address myself to the King, inquiring the hour, when he might be pleased to grant me an audience. This he informed me, was the proper course, and that the King had in fact commanded

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quelcunq pour negocier que la dite prevacion fust l'occasion d'estre remis à luy ; il me remercia grandement de ceste intencion et bonne voulenté, et que des afferes, qu'ils me se traicteroient pas particulieres, mais totalement par conseil, ou il se trouveroit ordinairement et que me pouvés asseurer, que en tout ceque concerneroit le service de Votre Majesté, il en feroit toujours son mieulx.

"Sire, combien que comme ay sus escrit, huisse deja despeché mon homme au Roy, pour gratifier et donner entendre que voules conduire les afferes de Votre Majesté, par son avis et adresse, je luy demandey ce que aves affaire maintenant, et les autresfois que me vindroint nouvelles, si j'en devois premierement advertir le Roy et luy envoyer pour savoir l'heure que luy agreeroit de me oyr ; il me dit, que cela estoit le vray, et que le Roy l'avoit ainsy ordonné, que le tout se dheust addresser à luy, avant qu'en fere participacion à nul autre, et que ferés bien despecher ung des miens signifiant au Roy, que luy aves

that application should be made direct to himself, before any other person whatever was apprized of the intended communication, and that therefore I should do well to dispatch one of my own people to the King, begging permission to lay before him in person a message from Your Majesty.

“Upon this I took leave of the said Duke, who in spite of all my remonstrances, persisted in accompanying me beyond the Hall, where he had first come to receive me, and using the most courteous language on account of the trouble I had taken, expressed his wish of returning my visit without delay, and entreated me to command his services, which would always be promptly rendered, wherever an occasion might arise of their being at all useful to Your Majesty.

“Sire ! on the evening of the ensuing day, which was the 22nd, my Secretary returned with letters from the King informing me that he was leaving Winesor (Windsor) for his palace at Grennevys (Greenwich) where he would be on Saturday, but that as he should not arrive till late, I had better not repair thither till

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a parler de la part de Votre Majesté ; sur ce, je prins congé du dit Duc, que me vint accompagner, quelque refus que luy en fissee, jusques hors la salle, ou il m'estoit venu recepvoir, et usant de gracieuseté vers moy, me dits, qu' aves prins trop de peyne, et que luymesme me vouloit venir visiter, et au surplus que je regardisse de l'employer et commander là ou il auroit moyen et pouvoer de fere service à Votre Majesté, en quoy le trouves toujours prest.

“Sire ! Lendemain au soir, que fut le 22, revint mon homme avec lettres du Roy, que m'advertissoit, qu'il partoit de Winesor, pour aller à Grennevys, ou il se trouveroit le Samedy, et pour ce qu'il y

the next day. Accordingly, about 8 o'clock on the following morning (Sunday) I arrived at the said Greenwich, and on getting out of the boat found a very civil gentleman, M. Poller, accompanied by two others with their servants, who had been sent on the part of the King to attend and conduct me to the palace. On entering the second gate of the Court, I found Monseigneur the Bishop of London ready for the same purpose and charge, who led me to the antechamber of the King where the greatest part of the Court was assembled, and where I was received by the two Dukes, and the Archbishop of Canterbury. Here whilst waiting for the King, who was about to attend Mass, I remained in conversation with these seigneurs, in the course of which I was asked what were Your Majesty's sentiments respecting the proposed conference\* at Bologna, and what was the force, intention and success of the

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arriveroit tard, qu'il valloit mieux que me rendisse la le Dimence au matin. Le Samedy je reçeu comme dessus les lettres du 5<sup>e</sup>; le Dimence environ les huit heures du matin, j'arrivey au dit Grennevys, et descendant du batteau, je trouvey ung bien honest gentilhomme, nommé Mons. Poller, accompagnè de deux autres et leurs gens, que la m'attendoint de la part du Roy, pour me accompagner et conduire; Entrant à la seconde porte de la court, survint Monseigneur l'Evesque de Londres avec la mesme commission et charge qu'il me conduyt jusques à l'avant chambre du Roy, ou estoit la pluspart de la Court, speciallement les deux Ducs, et l'Archevesque de Cantorbery, lesquieux me receurent, et attendant que le Roy sortist pour aller à la messe, nous devisames ensemble quelque piece, et furent les propos ou se

\* A meeting with the Pope (Clement the 7th) which took place on the 5th of October of that year.

Turk, who had excited no small alarm amongst them ; and not indeed without cause.

“ Sire ! Presently afterwards the King passing on his way to Mass, came up directly to me, with the utmost graciousness and courtesy, much more than on a former occasion, and, said, taking me by the sleeve, ‘ so you have news for me, from my brother the Emperor ? ’ On answering in the affirmative, he enquired the date of the letters, and being informed, he spoke of the great care your Majesty took to inform me of the news. I assured him in reply, that it was one of the principal cares of Your Majesty to make *him* participate in all the affairs which most nearly concerned you, both in the communications you had with others, and in your own deliberations, and thus to prove the amity, brotherly affection and entire confidence cherished for him by your Majesty on all occasions, persuaded as you were that he in like manner would feel and act

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trouvoit Votre Majesté de l’assemblée de Bouloigne, dont ils estoient desja advertys, de la puissance, deliberacion et succès de ce Turcq, dequoy ils se treuvent tous esbeys, et non sans grant craincte ne raisonnable cause.

“ Sire ! peu aprés, sortant le Roy pour aller à sa ditte messe, il vint droitement à moy de plus grand courtoysie et humanité beaucop qu’il n’avoit fait la premiere fois, et me pregnant par la manche, me dis, ‘ vous eu avez nouvelles de l’Empereur mon frere ; ’ et luy ayant repondu que ouy, jl me jnterrogua de la dâte, et l’avoir entendu, jl dit, que Votre Majesté estoit soigneuse de m’advertir, je luy replicquey que l’ung des principaux soins de Votre Majesté, estoit de l’advertir, et fere participant de toutes ses nouvelles et deliberations, et luy donner d’entendre en tout et partout l’amitié, fraternité et

towards you,—which he cordially assented to. I then presented the letters of Your Majesty and declared the tenor of my credentials, adding that although your Majesty had been advised that the Pope would himself write to him on the same subject, it was nevertheless suitable to the friendly sentiments which subsisted between you, as well as to the importance of the affair itself, that a special communication of it on Your part should not be wanting. It was true, he told me, that the Pope had written to him, but it was not the less agreeable to learn from Your Majesty the motives and object of this proceeding; and touching the particulars referred to in my said credentials, he had already provided for them, he said, in orders given to his Ambassadors now sent to Your Majesty's court, who were authorised to confer, to treat and conclude on the whole affair.

“Speaking of the cause and occasion of Your Ma-

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confience, que Votre Majesté avoit en luy, supposant que de son cousté, il voudroit fere le mesme. Ce qu'il affirma bien à certes. . . . Sur ce, luy presentay les lettres de Votre Majesté, et luy declairay la teneur de ma creance; y adjoustant que combien que Votre Majesté fust advertie que le Pape luy en debvoit escrire, toutes fois, avoit il semblé à jcelle convenir au debvoir de l'amitié d'entre vous deux et aussy à l'importance de l'affaire, le luy fere notiflier de sa part. Il me dit, qu'il étoit vray, que le Pape l'en avoit fait advertir, mais que ce non obstant, ne luy avoit esté moins agréable de l'entendre du cousté de Votre Majesté, mesmes pour l'occasion qu'avoit esmeu Votre Majesté le luy faire savoir, et que touchant ce que par ma dite creance luy avés dit, qu'il y avoit desja pourvehu, et donné ordre, et que Les Ambassadeurs qu'il a envoyé devers Votre Majesté ont tout pouvoir d'assister, traitter et conclure sur cette matiere. . . . .

jesty's journey into Italy, I observed, that in this instance he would surely not be the last to advance so good and holy a work. He replied certainly not, and that he should be very sorry to give cause to any such suspicion. But as it was now time for going to Mass, the King, wishing to discourse with me more at large, put off our further conference till his return.

"Sire! immediately after Mass the King coming up to me resumed the same subject, asking me if I thought it were possible that he could be backward in such a proceeding? I then laid before him more expressly and more particularly the great necessity there was to resist without further delay this formidable enemy the Turk, which would appear most pressing from extracts of letters which the king of Hungary had addressed to Your Majesty, as well as from the tenor of those which Madame had been pleased to write to me. I told him that I had reason to fear also that the Pope's expected

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"Parlant de la cause motive du passage de Votre Majesté en Italie, je luy dis que à ce Compte qu'il ne vouloit estre de derniers à une si bonne et saincte euvre, il me respondit que je nany et qu'il luy grieferoit bien que l'on le luy peust reprocher. Et pour ce que le temps instoyt d'aller à la messe, et qu'il vouloit longuement parler à moy, il remit la negociation après la messe.

"Sire! après la d<sup>e</sup> Messe, le Roy tout incontinent me remit en propos, me disant, pensiés vous doncques que fusse des derniers en ung tel affere, lors je luy declairey plus expressement, et par le menu, la grand nécessité qu'estoit de pourveoir subdainement à la resistance de ce grand ennemy, selon qu'il apparessoit par l' extrait des lettres que que le Roy d'hongrie escripvoit à Votre Majesté, et par la teneur de celles que Madame m'avoit sur ce escriptes, et que me craignes à

arrival at Bologna on the 5th of this month, would scarcely admit of his ambassadors who were to set out and travel at their ease, being in time for the conference ; and therefore it might be expedient I observed, were he to send another power by post to the Ambassadors already with his Holiness, that they might treat on all the subjects in question, should the case require it. He told me that he had given the Ambassadors sent to your Majesty especial charge to expedite their journey, and that he would repeat his injunctions on this point. With regard to Your Majesty's expectations from him in this war with the Turk, it was right, he said, to be clearly understood, that he could only do little, but that he was ready to do all in his power.

" I was unwilling to let this observation on the smallness of his ability pass without remarking, that it could not be inconsiderable as to men, and certainly was very far from being so as to money, with which, it was well known he was provided at least as well as any

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ce qu'il avoit pleu m' escrire, que le Pape au plustard deslougeroit de Rome pour venir à Boulogne le 5<sup>e</sup> de ce moys, que à peyne ses dites Ambassad<sup>s</sup> que iront à leur ayse, se pourront assés à temps trouver à ceste journé de Bologne pourquoi me sembloit qu'il seroit meilleur et plus seur, qu'il envoyat par la poste ung autre pouvoir, pour traiter au dit affere à ses Ambassad<sup>s</sup> qu'il a auprès du Pape ; il me dit, qu'il avoit donné charge aux d<sup>ts</sup> que vont à Votre Majesté, qu'ils fissent les plus grandes journées que leur seroit possible, sans sejourner en chemin, et que encoires leur feroit-il une rencharge, et qu'il falloit entendre, quant à luy, quil ne pouvoit pas beaucoup, mais, que en ce cas, il y feroit son possible. Je ne luy vousy laisser couler ce qu'il disoit de son pouvoir, que n'estoit petits ne en gens ne argent principalement ; dont tout le monde scait assez qu'il en est fourny autant que

Prince in Christendom. Were it indeed otherwise, I added, since he was absolute as the Pope, in his dominions, and had moreover such an abundance of rich ecclesiastics, he could hardly plead a want of wealth. He would not be wanting, he rejoined, to assist and promote the enterprize in view as far as the object appeared to him to require his exertions ; but Your Majesty, he strongly intimated, as the principal in the affair, the greatest personage, and the most powerful, ought to be the conductor and leader of the way to others, and the more effectually to accomplish this, ought without delay to make peace with the potentates of Italy. He said that all the success you could gain there, would not add one jot to your greatness or your power, and the more Your Majesty could abstain from wasting means in that quarter which might be employed on a much greater and fitter object elsewhere,

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prince de la Chrestienté, et quant bien cela ne seroit, puisqu'il est comme pape absoulust en son Royaulme, aiant tant de riches Ecclesiastiques en son Royaume comme il a, il ne falloit qu'il se excusat sus non pouvoir ; jl replicquat ainsy que dessus, que à luy ne tiendroit que l'entreprisne ne se dressat ainsi qu'il en estoit de besoing et l'affere le requeroit, mais qu'il falloit que Votre Majesté, comme le chief le plus grand et plus puissant, fust le conducteur et celluy qui monstra le chemin aux autres, et que pour ce fere il estoit necessaire que Votre Majesté se reduit à fere quelque paix avec tous ses Potentatz d' Italye, ores que cela fust à son desavantaige, car Votre Majesté a d'ailleurs assés biens sans ceux-la qu'elle pourroit pretendre en Italye, les quieux ayant obtenus, ne la sauroient exaucer ung grain, ne en grandeur ne pouvoir ; et d'autant que Votre Majesté laisroyt en ce entroit couler de ce que luy pourroit appertenir, pour fere une

the more would it redound to Your Majesty's honour, praise and reputation in the face of all the world. It was not, he said, out of any favour or affection towards the Italian powers, to whom he was bound by no tie or obligation, but out of a sense of duty to Your Majesty, that he made this remark, for whose exaltation and glory he was always anxious. Not that he presumed to offer advice to Your Majesty, he continued, who was not only provided with a store of faithful counsellors, but who was yourself greatly distinguished for your prudence. Your Majesty, I assured him, had never ceased to use your best efforts for bringing about a safe peace, union and tranquillity in Italy, and that this was one of the motives of the present journey, as I had before observed. I told him that the parties with whom you had to deal were so difficult to bring to reason, having always some reserved point in their proposals,

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telle emprise, d'autant gaigneroit-elle tant plus d'honneur, louange et Reputacion vers tout le monde, ainsi que par tel moyen Votre Majesté pourroit inextimablement conquerer plus de Bien que ne Sauriont ceulx dont se sagit en Italye ; lesquelles choses jl disoit, non point pour faveur ne jnterest des dits potentats, auxquieus n'avoit nul debvoir, mais tant seulement pour le debvoir qu'il a à votre Majesté, et le desir qu'il a de l'exhaucement et gloire d'jcelle ; protestant qu'il n'entendoit de vouloir presumer de vouloir donner conseil à Votre Majesté, qu'estoit si bien pourveu de bons conseillers, avec ce que d'ellemesmes estoit assés prudente. Je luy dis, que Votre Majesté, n'avoit en riens plus taché, ne tachoit encoires a présent, que de reduyre l'Italye en bonne paix, union et tranquillité, et que c'estoit l'une des causes pourquoy Votre Majesté avoit tenu tous les les moyens propices, mais estans les parties si obstinés qu'elles ne veullent en sorte quelcunque entendre rayson, ne venir en amitié, et

that caution in proceeding with them was, so to speak, no less necessary than with the Turks, and consequently that their very offers of amity were not immediately to be acceded to, much to the discomfiture of Your Majesty; as might be seen in the case of the Duke Francisco Sforza.

"But come," said the King interrupting me, "what are they about, with this poor Duke? What harm can he do?" I told him according to the tenor of the letter Your Majesty was pleased to write, how it was intended to treat with him. "Perhaps," said he, "you may be wishing to refer his case to Arbitrators whom he may have reason to think not the most impartial." It was impossible, I replied, for any Judges to be more fair than those who had been named, and that nothing could be more gracious and advantageous to the Duke, than the terms proposed, which had been rendered the more so, out of consideration to the Pope, and to him-

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que pis est, que ont une garde derriere, et desquieux jl se fault autant asseurer, à mode de parler, que des turcs mesmes, jl estoit forcé que Votre Majesté usast en refus de l'amitié de sa puissance, qu'est bien la chose que desplaysoit autant à Votre Majesté come l'on peut clerement appercevoir par ce que Votre Majesté avoit fait demener et traiter avec le Duc Francisque Sforce ; jl me dit sur ce, "mais voyer, que veust l'on fere de ce povre Duc, ne quel mal peust-il fere ?" Je luy contoisois le contenu en l'escrit qu'il pleust à Votre Majesté m'envoyer de ce qu'avoit esté traytté avec luy. Il dit que par avanture l'on vouloit mettre son cas en justice devant quelques gens suspectz, que le gardoit de se soubmettre ; à cela, je luy dis, que des juges l'on luy avoit toujours parler de les baillier non suspectz, et que les afferes que l'on luy avoit fait, ne pouvoient estre plus gracieux ne proufitables pour luy, et que pensés que l'on les luy avoit fait aussi amples car à la contemplacion du Pape que aussy de

self, who had on this and former occasions interceded with your Majesty in favour of the said Duke. The King said, that his motive in so doing was no other than to bring about an universal peace ; and that as to the Pope he was bound to it by their Holy League, in which he had himself been made, he knew not how and certainly not with his own consent, a party concerned. With regard to another point the cession of Pavia and Alessandria ; those towns, he allowed, might be given up to your Majesty, as far as you were personally responsible for such a charge ; but to be handed over to your own people was a different thing, as in your absence it would appear there was but little safety and security, judging from what had lately occurred at Sienna, which place, notwithstanding its devotion to Your Majesty had been entered and plundered by some of Your troops under the Prince himself. The King, when he perceived that I did not give credit to

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luy, que autre fois avoit fayt porter beaucoup parrolles à Votre Majesté par ses Ambassadeurs en faveur du Duc ; il dit que ce qu'il en avoit fay<sup>t</sup> parler estoit pour conclure la paix universelle, et non pour autre respetz ny obligacion. Quant au pape, jl estoit à ce astraint par leur saincte ligue, de la quelle jl ne fust jamais ; combien qu'il y fut nommé, et Votre Majesté pensoit qu'il y heust consenty. Et quand à rendre Pavye et Alexandrie, qu'il s'en pourroit bien confier à Votre Majesté quand elle y seroit presente, mais autrement de la Remettre entre les mains de vos gens en d<sup>e</sup> absence, jl n'y auroit seurté ne fiance, pour beaucoup d'expériences que l'on a ci-devant venu, encores frechement en Siena, laquelle, non obstant qu'elle heust toujours eu devotion de Votre Majesté, non obstant quelques gens de votre armée soub Mons<sup>r</sup> le Prince estoient entré au d<sup>t</sup> siennes, et l'avoient saccagé ; et voyant que le descroyés pour non avoir grand

such an assertion which bore so little appearance of truth or probability, continued more stoutly to confirm it, declaring that he had received letters to this express effect from his ambassadors. "As far as relates to Pavia," I observed, "that is out of the reach of any dispute, for it has been already given up." He demanded two or three times whether I knew this of a certainty ; I had not, I replied, received any letters from your Majesty to this effect, but I had heard it from a friend who was not in the habit of transgressing the truth, and I was the more disposed to credit his account from a particular circumstance he at the same time mentioned, namely the capture of the Count de Gayaz, and his subsequent escape. "I have also heard," said the King, "that it had been given up, and was afterwards retaken ;" "but," he continued "I would make one observation, and " this I should wish to remain between ourselves ; I " think it a very great shame, the Turk being in Austria, " the true patrimony of the Emperor, that he should

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apparence ne verisimilitude par aucunes conjectures, que luy dis, jl le me affirmoit tant plus fort, me disant qu'il en avoit lettres expresses de son Ambassadeur ; Je luy dis que quant à Pavie, elle estoit desja hors de dispute, car elle s'estoit rendue ; jl me replicquat par deux ou trois foix si le scavés pour vray ? Je luy dis, que n'en avés lettres de Votre Majesté, ouy bien de quelcun mien ami, que n'estoit coustumier donner bordes, et que le me faisoit plus croire estoit la particularité de la prince du Conte de Gayaz, et ce qu'il s'estoit sauvé ; jl dit qu'il avoit heu nouvelles qu'elle estoit une fois rendue, et puis avoit esté reprisne ; apres ce me dit ; " jl fault que je vous die une chose, mais je ne vouldroie qu'elle partist d'entre nous deux, jl me semble ung grant honte, estant le turc en Austrice, qu'est le vray patrimoine de

“not go to its rescue instead of making war upon “Christians.” Nothing, I replied, could afford a subject of more painful regret to Your Majesty than this. It certainly was not an acquisition of territory (of which you were accustomed to say you had already *too much*) that influenced Your Majesty in any of these proceedings ; and as to the aforesaid Sforza, Your Majesty, I was certain, was not only quite willing to reinstate him in Milan, but to add to his possessions, provided he had been, or was, such as he ought to be. But it was much to be feared, that the moment Your Majesty’s army should be withdrawn from Italy to march against the Turks, the said Sforza on one side would commence a thousand acts of aggression, whilst the Venetians on theirs would make a feint of invading Brindisi in order to embarrass Your Majesty’s operations by preventing a removal of your troops from Naples, and thus endanger

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l’Empereur, qu’il ne va secourir, non point faire la guerre aux Chrestiens ; je luy respondis, que tout cela estoit au gros regret de Votre Majesté, et que nul Bien ne mouvoit Votre Majesté desqieux, à ce qu’avez entendu, souloit dire, quelle nen avoit que trop, et que je pense que Votre Majesté voudroit avoir donné au d<sup>t</sup> Sforce, oultre la Duché de Milan, beaucoup d’autres Biens, pourveu qu’il heust été et fust, tel qu’il devroit estre. Mais qu’il estoit à craindre, que aiant envoyé Votre Majesté son armée contre le turc, que le dit Sforce ne face mille maux et les Veniciens de l’autre cousté, que ne s’etoit cuyde faindre de jnvahir Brundisio, et que demourant en ce etat les choses, Votre Majesté ne se pourroit servir contre le dit turc des gens d’armes ne pietons du Royaume de Naples, ains seroit contrainte y laisser grosse Garnison que viendroit mal à point, et pourroit estre cause que pour ce moyen l’ung et l’autre pays seroit en dangier d

the loss of both countries. "The Duke," returned the King quickly, "can do nothing, and the Venetians have " quite as much as they can manage, in guarding their " own states. Invasion is therefore out of the question." As to withdrawing troops out of Italy, that he maintained was unnecessary, as long as it were possible to employ Lanzknechts and Swiss, who were more at home in the business required, and should occasion arise, having expelled the Turk, the recovery of any thing lost elsewhere would be easy enough. I said that I supposed his instructions to his Ambassadors had been directed to these very subjects which we had been discussing, and that Your Majesty's explanations on every point would be so frank and explicit as to shew clearly that you had even done more to satisfy every claim than could have been expected, and that it was neither avarice nor ambition, but the causes only which I had assigned, which had throughout governed all your actions.

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estre perdu ; Il me dit, que le Duc ne pouvoit Rien, les Veneciens ne procureront que de garder leurs terres et ne sont pour jnvahir. Quant à Tirer gens d'italye, cela n'estoit necessaire, puisque l'on pourroit avoir Lansquenetz et Suysses qui sont plus duytz au mestier ; et puis quand tout seroit perdu, ayant repousé le turc, la Recouvrance en seroit aisée. Je luy dis, que je pense qu'il auroit donné charge à ses Ambassadeurs de parler à Votre Majesté, de tous ses afferes icy, dont estes seur que jcelle en donneroit sur le tout si bonne et concluante rayson et responce qu'il auroit occasion de se contenter, et que Votre Majesté s'estoit mis plus que à debvoir envers tous ; et que Votre Majesté avoit desja assés entendre, ne que le fauste de la coronation, ne convoytise d'occuper terres d'esglise ne autres, ne l'avoit tiré d'Italye, sinon les causes que pieca luy avés dit ; Il dit

" As to the latter part of this observation, the King fully admitted its truth, but this, he said, would more satisfactorily appear, were the aforementioned suggestions attended to ; and as to the former part touching his instructions to his Ambassadors, they were confined to certain recommendations respecting his own friends in Italy. These, I rejoined, were surely unnecessary, as your Majesty being aware of all these connections could not fail of bestowing every due consideration upon them ; and therefore it were surely better instead of wasting time in such persuasions, to employ them rather in bringing the said friends and potentates to a juster sense of their own interest and duty. He said he had done that also.

" Then changing his tone, and with great emphasis as well as with some expression of surprize, " My brother the King of France," he said, " as it appears,

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quant à ce dernier, qu'il estoit vray, mais que encoires le donneroit plus clerement à entendre Votre Majesté, faisant les sus<sup>des</sup> appointemens, quant à l'autre, il dit, que la charge qu'il en avoit donné à ses Ambassadeurs, n'estoit que de prier Votre Majesté d'avoir pour recommandé les amis qu'il a en Italye, et que autre grand jnstance n'avoit, il ordonné qu'ille en deussant fere. Je luy dis, que aussi n'en estoit il besoin, car encoires qu'il ne heut fait parler Votre Majesté, cognoissant ses d<sup>e</sup> amys il se pouvoit assés assurer que Votre Majesté y auroit du regard ; et que ce seroit perdre temps de vouloir user de persuasion vers icelle, et qu'il seroit plus necessaire d'employer le dit temps à escrire et persuader aus d<sup>e</sup> potentatz et ses amis, de se vouloir ranger à la Rayson. Il dis que aussi l'avoit il fait.

" Sur ce, il me dit, Changeant Sa façon de parler, et avec une ponderative, et comme par admiration, qu'il avoit entendu, que le Roy de France, son frere, en cest affere contre le turc vous avoit fait

in this affair with the Turk, has made your Emperor a marvellous offer ; ” and this he repeated three times without any further remark. “ If it be so,” I replied, “ he has acted a very virtuous part, and one in conformity with what he has often professed and promised ; ” and to this, I added, he was strongly bound by several considerations, which it would be useless to particularize, since they were sufficiently notorious, and that his power was great, and could not be better exercised. “ As to power,” said the King, “ he is less well supplied than his neighbours, for all the money he has, is owing to your Emperor, and he who is to touch it, should make the greater efforts.” In this, I assured him, there would be no room for blame, and that not only these, but all other resources which God had given you, would be so devoted.

“ Here dropping the subject, the Pope, he said, was sending two Ambassadors, one to the King of France,

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ung merveilleux offre, et le me replicquat par trois fois, et ne me dit plus oultre. Je luy respondis, que si ainsy estoit, qu'il faisoit très vertueusement, et en conformité de ce que plusieurs fois jl avoit dit et promis; Et que à ce, estoit jl grandement tenu, pour beaucoup de considerations, qu'il n'estoit besoing explicquer, car elles estoient assez notoires, et d'ailleurs qu'il avoit bon povoir de ce fere, lequel jl ne scauroit mieuxx employer que en cecy. Quant au pouvoir, il me dit, qu'il en avoit moings que les autres, car il vous devoit bailler tout son argent, et que à Votre Majesté qui l'auroit, touchoit de fere le principal effort; en quoy l'assurey, qu'il n'y auroit faulte, et que jcelle y mettroit, et cela, et tout ce que Dieu luy avoit donné.

“ Sur ce, il changea de propos, me disant que le Pape envoioit deux Ambassadeurs, l'ung au Roy de France, et l'autre à luy, les-

and the other to himself, respecting, as he supposed, this affair of the Turk, and he should wait to hear what they had to say. The person sent to him, I understand is brother of his own Ambassador at Rome, and of the one at Venice. I then asked, if he wished for that more particular information, respecting the Duke Francisco, which was contained in an extract of a letter from the King of Hungary, and further to hear the answer of the Venetians to a requisition made to them by the Ambassador of France for the restoration of Apulia. "Certainly," he replied; and then I handed over to him these documents. With regard to this answer of the Venetians, it appeared to him they were not at all in the wrong, considering that the promise which had been held out of including them in the general treaty of peace was not kept.

"I next reminded him of what his Council had communicated to me concerning the ring of your Majesty, in which he had given ample proof of the care

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quieux pensoit venoint pour le dit affere du turcq ; qu'il falloit veoir attendre qu'il diroint le sien ; à ce qu'il me dit, c'est le frere de l'ambassadeur qu'il tient à Rome, et de celluy ausy qu'il a en Venise. Je luy demandey, s'il luy plaisoit pour plus grande information avoir ce qu'avoit esté fayt avec le Duc Francisque, l'extrait de la lettre du Roy d'ongrie, et ce qu'avoit respondu les Veneciens à l'Ambassadeur de France, les Requerans de la Restitution des terres de l'apullie ; il me dit quoy voulontiers, ainsi lui bailloye les dites pieces ; quant à la responce des Venetiens, il luy sembla qu'ils n'avoit point le plus grand tord du Monde, venu que l'on ne leur avoit tenu promesse de les comprendre en la paix : Je luy rementonay ce que son Conseil m'avoit communiqué touchant la bague de Votre Majesté, en quoy

he had in the preservation of any portion of your Majesty's property, as well as of your friendship. "Yes," he replied, he had often been solicited to restore it, but he had acted with a determination to do, as was his wont, what in his judgment, a sense of duty and friendship demanded.

"I spoke of some other things of which Madame had written to me, and of which I will make mention hereafter, when I come more particularly to answer your Majesty's letters.

"Concerning the affair of the Queen, not a word was said; and it was now getting too late to enter upon any new matter.

"After dinner, he sent to ask whether I had any thing else to say to him. I returned for answer, that I had not, unless it were to request that he would as early as convenient send off the aforesaid power to his Ambassadors with the Pope, or charge those who were

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il avoit donné bon tesmoingage du soing qu'il avoit à la conservation de vos choses, et de l'amitié, jl me dit, qu'il avoit esté fort sollicité pour la Restitution d'icelle, mais il a esté toujours resolu d'en user comme il a fayt, à quoi luy sembloit estre tenu pour les dit debvoer et amitié. Je luy parlay de quelques autres afferes, dont Madame m'avoit rescrift, de quoy feray cy-apres mention, ayant particulierement respondu aux lettres de Votre Majesté; de l'affere de la Royne ne autres n'en fust nulz propoz; l'heure estoit aussy assés tarde pour entrer en nouveau negoce.

"L'apres disner, il m'envoya dire, si j'avais encoires quelque chose a luy dire? je luy fis entendre que non, fors pour le premier qu'il luy souvint d'envoyer le pouvoir dont luy avés parlé, à ses Ambassadeurs vers le pape, ou de mander aux autres que vont à Votre

going to your Majesty to proceed on their way with all possible expedition. I was informed in reply that he would take care of all this, and that he had nothing to add at present except that it was his wish that I should communicate to him any news I might receive, as he should not fail in doing towards me.

“ Sire ! With regard to the treaty of Cambray, and the peace there made, all the world, great and small, have shewn the utmost satisfaction : I can scarcely indeed perceive any other feeling, and this more especially on the part of the King, and of the principal people here, notwithstanding they would have preferred the conditions demanded at Palencia, at which some perhaps, but those of no consideration, a little murmur. The proclamation of this peace has been made with great solemnity, and no reference is herein expressed to any other country or person, save those of your Majesty and the King of England. Touching

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Majesté, quilz se deussent avancer et diligenter le plus qui pourroint. Je heu responce qu'il pourveroit sur le tout, et que pour l'heure, jl n'avoit que à me dire autres, fors, que ayant nouvelles, l'en voulisse advertir, et jl me feroit part des siennes.

“ Sire ! quant au traité de Cambrey et la paix y faytte, tout le monde tant petitz que grans en ont monstré grant joye et contentement, et n'en ay peu appercevoir le contraire ; et specialement du Roy, ne des principaux, jaçoit eussent bien mieux aimés ainsy qu'ilz le demandoient à Palence, dont quelques-uns en murmurent encoires, mais ce ne sont gens de Etoffe. L'on fist icy grand solemnité en la publication comme ay parcydevant adverty Votre Majesté en la quelle ne fust faytte mention d'autre paix ne personne, que de celle entre V<sup>e</sup>. Majesté et le Roy d'Angleterre. Touchant l'observance

the observance of it, the Queen, as I have already written, has expressed her doubt of its duration ; but I can scarcely suppose that the parties concerned would wish to break it ; for the war has cost them a power of money, and they have gained little by it. It is calculated that from its commencement, the King has spent at least eight hundred thousand ducats ; and to begin again with this sort of discipline would not be a pleasing dose ; besides the people have already shewn symptoms that this is not to their taste.

“ Up to the present time, all seems to go on well between them and the French ; and this state of things, will, it is thought, continue until a demand for money is made on the French Ambassador. I cannot say much of their treatment of him here ; since my arrival, he has been but once at Court, and that was when his brother was with him. On one occasion since, he was on his way thither, and notwithstanding the bad

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d’jcelle, j’ay desja escript à Votre Majesté, ce que avoit dit la Royne, qu’elle dureroit tant qu’elle pourroit ; toutesfoys, pense je qu’il ne vouldroit en sorte quelconqe qu’elle ne durast, car par la guerre ilz ne peuvent riens gaigner et si leur couste ung monde ; ilz comptent que depuis le deffiemement, le Roy a despendu huict cens mille Ducas et plus, pourquoy fault croire qu’il leur griefveroit à tourner prendre telles purges, et plus telz moyens remutinent le pays. Jusques à maintenant ilz s’entendent bien avec les françois, que l’on pense ne durera jusques à ce qu’il soit question de demander argent de l’Ambassadeur de france ; je ne scauroye dire autre chose de son traitement icy, sinon que depuis que suis de pardeça, il n’a esté à la Court synon une fois, quand son frere fut icy ; et une autrefois il fust jusques bien pretz, et quelque mal temps qu’il fist, jl fust con-

weather, he was countermanded, and constrained to return, being informed that he must present himself before the Council, and there deliver the message with which he was charged for the King, and abstain from all communication with the Cardinal. This did not please him any more than the lack of an invitation to supper, and he was overheard sadly to lament himself and wish himself dead. He came to visit me as I have before observed, on my arrival, and has most graciously borne himself towards me, whenever we have met. Concerning the Ambassadors from Italy, there are those of the Venetians, and of the Dukes Francisco, and of Ferrara. They have been very busy about the Court and the Cardinal, but all are at this moment in perfect repose. The one most in favour with the King is he of Milan, on whom the King has lavished money for his subsistence. For want of

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tremandé, et constraint de retourner, et luy fust ditz qu'il vint trouver le Conseil pour exposer ce qu'il vouloit dire au Roy, et qu'il ne se deust addresser particulierement ne communiquer au Cardinal, de quoy il fust tres mal-content, et ne fust question de soupper le soir, et y heust homme que le ouyst lamenter et desirer d'estre mort ; jl me vint visiter doys le commencement, comme escrivis à Votre Majesté, et ou qu'il m'aye rancontré, il m'a toujours usé de grand gracioseté.

“ Touchant les Ambassadeurs d'italye, il en y a icy, pour les Veneciens, Duc Francisque, et pour le Duc de Ferrare ; ilz estoient fort embesoingnez par cydevant, et entoient fort la Court et le Cardinal ; mais maintenant ilz sont en continual repos ; celuy que plus prye le Roy, et celluy de Millan, auquel le Roy a foncé argent pour son entretenement ; puis deux ans en ça, il faisoit son Conte prèça

which two years ago, this said Ambassador had feigned an intention of going away, but I have a shrewd suspicion that both he and the others have no such meaning, and are too glad to have the run of the Court.

“ Those who now administer this government, and are most in credit, are first the Duke of Norforc to whom your Majesty would do well to write a letter; next is the Duke of Sufforc and it would not be amiss to give him a line also.

“ One thing further, I must mention, although your Majesty should be already apprized of it through the Sieur Don Inigo de Mendoça, that there is not a single person about the King, who is not saturated\* with money from France. Almost all profess great affection for your Majesty, but the affection for money surpasses all others; and so, there is not much reliance to be placed on their professions.†

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pour s'en aller, mais je cuyde que luy et les autres demeuroint pour couvrir la Court. Touchant ceux qui ont icy le credit et administrent, le Duc de Norforc est le principal; Votre Majesté feroit bien de luy escripre, le duc de Sufforc est le second, ausi n'y auroit il grand mal lui escrire. Une chose fault que Votre Majesté entende, de laquelle seres advertye par le S<sup>r</sup>. Don Inigo de Mendoça, que n'en y a point ung autour du Roy que ne soy abrevé de ces pensions de France, presque tous sont affectionnez à Votre Majesté mais l'affection de l'argent passe tout, pourquoy n'y a de se fyer à ceux combien à point.

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\* The word *abrevé* in the French is here supposed written for *abreuvé*.

† This passage brings to mind an observation on this same “itching palm” of more modern times recorded in the memoirs of

" Sire ! I have submitted on the part of Madame two things to the King, one, that as far he is concerned, the sea should be kept clear of privateers and pirates. He denied that he had any such people among his subjects, some of whom he said, had indeed suffered much from those of your Majesty, even in time of peace, but that he had no doubt your Majesty would see justice done in this respect, and he would take good care that this sort of traffick should not be permitted on his side. The other matter laid before him was respecting M. Rosynbez who was already on his way to England. At this he was much pleased, and

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" Sire ! J'advertyss le Roy de la part de Madame, de deux choses ; l'une qu'il vousist donner ordre de son cousté que l'on nettoyast la mer de Courreurs et pirates ; il dit qu'il pensoit qu'il n'en y eust point de ses subjectz, lesquieus avoient suffert par cy devant de tres grans dangiers de ceux de Votre Majesté, et hors de temps de la guerre, et qu'il ne faysoit double que Votre Majesté n'en fist ministrer justice, et qu'il garderoit bien que les siens ne se mesleront de telles besongnies ; l'autre de quoy l'adverty, fust que Mons<sup>r</sup>. de Rosynbez debvoit, à ce que m'escrivoit Madame, desja estre en chemin, dequoy y fust fort ayse, à ce qu'il monstroit, si fust, il d'entendre

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M<sup>r</sup>. de Pompadour. In a letter from an English Minister of her day to Cardinal Fleury : "I pension," writes the Minister, " half the parliament to keep it quiet. But as the King's money is not sufficient, they to whom I give none are clamorous for a war ; it would be expedient therefore for your Eminence to remit me three millions to silence these barkers. Gold is a metal which here corrects all ill qualities in the blood. A pension of £2,000 a year will make the most impetuous warrior in Parliament tame as a lamb."—*Anecdotes and Speeches of Ld. Chatham, year 1754, Vol. I. p. 186.*

having learned from me the quality of this personage, he ordered immediately after dinner the two Dukes to see that a lodging should be provided for him as near me as possible, and directed that the Grand Commander of St. John and his brother should go out to meet the said Seigneur, who is thus pretty sure of a good reception.

“ Sire ! The news here is, that the Cardinal who has long tottered, has at length come to his complete downfal. Having been dismissed from the Council, and deprived of his office as Chancellor, he has since also been constrained to make an inventory of all his moveables in his own hand, that nothing may be forgotten, and that he may be more easily convicted. It is said, that having of his own free will acknowledged his past errors and faults, he has presented all he had to the

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par moy la qualité du personnaige, pourquoy l'apres disner, incontinent je ordonnat aux deux Ducz, qu'ilz luy feissent pourveoir de lougis, et plus pres de moy qu'il seroit possible, et avisarent par ensemble que le Grand Commendeur de Sanct Jehan et son frere sortiroint au Champs pour recepvoir le dit S<sup>r</sup>, lequel suis seur ne fauldra à bon Recuyl.

Sire ! des nouvelles de pardeça, le Cardinal, apres avoir chanceller longuement, à la fin il est tresbuché et oultre qu'ainsy (qu'ay sus escris) l'on l'ayt privé du Conseil et demit de son office de Chancelier ; il a aussi esté constraint de mettre de sa propre main tout son meuble par inventaire, et fust avisé qu'il le deust fere de sa main, affin qu'il n'y oblyast Riens, ou que l'on le peust mieux convaincre de sa faulte. L'on dit que recognoissant les erreurs et faultes passées, de sa propre voulenté, il avoit fayt present au Roy de tout cela, que n'est petite chose.

King, which is no trifling matter. Yesterday the King returned privately by water from Greenwich to view the said effects. He took with him only his Ladye Love, her mother and one gentleman of his chamber. The Cardinal notwithstanding his troubles, has always shewn a good face, until the day of St. Luke; when all his bravadoes have been turned into complaints and tears and sighs; and this, it is said, without ceasing day or night. When the King heard this, either moved with pity or thinking it inconvenient that he should die before a full disclosure and verification of several things had taken place, he sent him a ring for his consolation. The Cardinal has now retired with a very small train to a place about ten miles hence. A son of his has been sent for from Paris, who was there following his studies, and of whom I have formerly made some mention to your Majesty. The people say

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Hier le Roy revint de Grunevitz par eau, secretement, pour veoer les d<sup>e</sup> Biens, lesquelx il trouva plus grans qu'il ne pensoit. Il ne mena avec luy que sa mye, la mere et quequ'un de sa chambre; et le d<sup>e</sup> Cardinal en quelque trouble que fussent ses afferes, il monstroit toujours bon vulto, et le plus beau devers la ville; mais depuys le jour S<sup>t</sup> Lucas, toutes ses braveries furent changées en extremes plaintz, pleurs et soupirs, et ce sans cesser nuyt ne jour; quoy entendant le Roy, esmeu de pitie, ou pour ce qu'il n'est encoires temps qu'il meure, que premierement l'on n'ayt entendu et veriffié plusieurs choses, craignant que le regret ne l'eust fayt mourir, pour sa consolacion luy a envoyé ung anneau; il est retiré avec petit train à une mayson à dix milles d'icy. L'on a envoyé pour le fils du dit Cardinal estant à Paris à l'estude des cas, de quoy l'on le Charge; j'en ay escrise quelquechose par-cy-devant à Votre Majesté; le peuple

execrable things of him, which are to come to light before parliament ; and it may be supposed, that let the matter end as it may, those that have raised the storm against the Cardinal, will not let it rest until they have done for him completely, knowing full well how it would go with them, were he to return to power. The person, as they say, who most takes to heart the case of the Cardinal, is the Ambassador of the French, because all their hopes and expectations depended on his continuance in favour. People here have been apprehensive lest the Cardinal should contrive some means of getting his goods out of the country, and therefore a very strict watch has been kept at all the ports. It was on this account that the guards had demanded to open the coffers of Cardinal Campeggio notwithstanding the passport he had received, and on his refusing permission to allow it, that the locks were broken open to his great displeasure. He said, as has been reported to me, that they did him great injustice to suppose that

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en dit Chouses execrables, le tout se scaura à ce Parlement. Et fault croire, comme qu'il en aille que ceaux que luy on mit la rage sus, ne l'abandonneront jusques au boulz, car ilz scavent bien qu'il leur va de la vie, s'il retournoit. L'homme que l'on dist icy qu'a esté autant marry de l'infortune du dit Cardinal, a esté l'Ambassadeur de France, car la estoit leur refuge et addresse. L'on a icy en craincte que le dit Cardinal ne gettast hors du pays de ses Biens, à ceste cause, l'on a fait grand, qu'est par le ports. À cette cause, quelque passeport que eust le Cardinal de Campege, les gardes luy demandoient à ouvrir ses Coffres, et faisant refus de les ouvrir, ilz rompirent les serrures, dequoy il fust fort desplaisant ; l'on m'a rapporté qu'il leur dit, qu'ilz avoient grand tort de penser que le Cardi-

the Cardinal could corrupt a man who had been proof against the innumerable presents offered to him by the King.

“ Sire ! The Chancellor’s seal since the said festival of St. Luke has continued in the hands of the Duke of Norfolk, till this morning, when in presence of all the council it has passed into those of Mr. Thomas More, who has been declared Chancellor, and has taken the oath of office before the said Duke. Every one is in great joy at his promotion, for besides the esteem in which he is held for his uprightness of character, he is the most learned man in England, and has always shewn himself a good servant of the Queen. He was, before, Chancellor of Lancaster, which office has been conferred on the Sieur Villeury,\* Treasurer of the household. Mr. Richard Pace † a faithful and tried servant

nal le peult corrompre pour faire une chose mal faicte, puisque le Roy mesme ne l’avoit sceu corrompre avec ses innumerables presens.

Sire ! le Scel de la Chancellerie, puis le dit jour S<sup>t</sup> Lucas, est demouré entre les mains du Duc de Nolphoc jusques à ce matin, qu'il a remis devant tout le conseil à Mr. Thomas Moure, le declayrant Chancellier de la part du Roy ; et a receu le d<sup>r</sup> Duc le jurement du dit Chancellier telz qu’appertient à l’office ; tout le monde est joyeux de sa promotion, car oultre ce qu'il est tenu pour homme de Bien, c'est l'homme le plus lettré d'Angleterre, et s'est tosjours monstré serviteur de la Royné ; Il estoit paravant Chancellier de Lancastre, maintenant a esté donné le dit office au tresorier de la mayson, Mr. S<sup>t</sup> Villieurry. Mr. Richard Paceo bon serviteur de Votre Majesté

\* Quere. Villiers.

† *Campeius.* My lord of York, was not one Doctor Pace In this man’s place before him ?

of your Majesty, whom the Cardinal had kept the last two years in prison in the tower of London, or in a monastery, has been set at liberty and recalled to Court. It is thought that unless his mind should again become unsettled, he will rise into greater favour and credit than ever, a circumstance favourable to your Majesty's interests.

" There has been a most respectable young man here for several days, sent to the King by the Duke of Saxony ; not the Lutheran but the other Duke. He came to visit and to dine with me this day. I have

que le Cardinal avoit fayt detenir en prison passé deux ans, tant en la tour de Londres, que en ung monastere, a esté mainten<sup>t</sup> delivré et est rappelé en la Court. En tient l'on que s'il demeure en telz repos de cerveau qu'il est maintenant, qu'il retournera en plus grand Credit que paravant, que viendroit bien à tail pour l'adresse des afferes de Votre Majesté. Il y a icy puys dix jours en ca, ung jeansne homme bien honneste, envoyé de la part du Duc de Saxe, non point du lutherien mais de l'autre au Roy ; jl est venu ce jourd'huy me visiter et disner avec moy, je n'ay peu encoires scavoir qu'il traytte,

*Wolsey.*

Yes, he was.

*Cam.* Was he not held a learned man ?

*Wol.*

Yes, surely.

*Cam.* Believe me, there's an ill opinion spread then  
Even of yourself, lord Cardinal.

*Wol.*

How ! of me ?

*Cam.* They will not stick to say, you envied him ;  
And, fearing he would rise, he was so virtuous,  
Kept him a foreign man still ; which so grieved him,  
That he ran mad, and died.

not been able to make out his business, I only know that he has much to do every day with the King and Monseigneur of London, and expects to return in about a fortnight. I will endeavour to find out for your Majesty's satisfaction what it is that brings him hither.

" Sire ! Touching the affair of the Queen, which I have reserved to the last, there is nothing new to communicate, except that Monseigneur of London assures me as a matter of absolute verity that Dr. Stock is gone to France only to consult concerning this affair with the Doctors of Paris, wherefore the Queen would entreat your Majesty to send thither for a like purpose some people of consideration and merit, for otherwise or without some definitive sentence, whatever attempts at persuasion may be made on the King, he will continue as opiniated and obstinate as ever.

" I have offered to her the advice, which your Ma-

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du moins jl negocie fort avec le Roy et Mons' de Londres, et fayt son compte s'en retourner dans quinze jours, je m'enquerrey de scavoer s'il est possible, quelles afferes le mainnent pour en advertir Votre Majesté.

Sire ! Touchant l'affere de la Royne, qu'ay gardé pour le dernier, actendant nouvelles d'elle, j'en ay parcydevant assez amplement escript à Votre Majesté, et depuis n'en ay entendu aultre, synonque Mons'. de Londres me affirma pour tout vray que le Docteur stocler, n'estoit allé en France que pour fere consulter ceste matiere aux docteurs de paris : pourquoy la Royne vouldroit prier Votre Majesté de fere le mesme avec les gens de Bien ; car sans cecy ou quelque sentence diffinitive, quelque persuasion que l'on face au Roy, jl demurra toujours en son oppinion et obstinacion.

" Je luy ay fayt entendre l'advis qu'il avoit pleu à votre Majesté

jesty was pleased to write to me, but it appears to her that delay far from being profitable would be injurious to her cause, for which reason and for others which have been already mentioned to your Majesty now of greater force than ever, it is considered desirable not to assent to the postponement which is demanded. This however is entirely submitted to your Majesty's good pleasure and judgment. She was of opinion, that in order to avoid raising suspicion in the mind of the King, I had better cease to visit her; but that she would provide the means of my speaking with her occasionally in private.

“ Sire ! I pray the Creator to grant a long and happy life, and increase of all earthly prosperity to your most high and sacred Majesty.

“ Written in London 25 of October, 1529.

EUSTACE CHAPUYS.”

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m’escrire, mais jl luy semble que la dillacion ne pouvoit en riens prouffiter, ains beaucoup nuyre; à cest cause, et par les raysons qu’ay autrefois escrit à Votre Majesté que militent plus maintenant que jamais, que l’on ne debvroit consentir à la surceance qu’ilz demandent, toutesfois le tout est au bon plaisir de Votre Majesté. Elle ne fust d’advis pour non donner suppicion au Roy, que la fusse veoir, et m’envoyat dire qu’elle pourveoiroit que luy pourrois parler aultre fois secrètement.

“ Sire, je prierai le Créateur avec la très bonne et très longue vie, prosperer et augmenter l’Estat de Votre très digne et très sacré Ma-jesté, escrit en Londres le 25 8ber. 1529.”

"P.S. Sire ! Two days after I had written the above, the Cardinal was judicially and definitively condemned by the great Council of the King, and declared a rebel to his authority, and guilty of high treason, in as much as in defiance of the Royal Authority and the privileges of the kingdom, he had obtained the bull of his Legantine authority, and had disposed by anticipation of several benefices in the patronage of the King and others. On this account, he has been deprived of all his offices and preferments with their dignities and prerogatives. All and each of his goods, moveables and immoveables, have been adjudged to the King, and he is sentenced to imprisonment in one of the Royal prisons here in London, until the King shall decide on his ultimate fate. The sentence was not given in his presence, for in this particular they were ready to gratify him, but two procurators were solemnly ordered to appear on his part.

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"P.S. Sire ! deux jours après la sus escripte, le Cardinal a esté sententialement et diffinitivement condamné par le grand conseil Royal et desclayré rebelle du Roy, et avoir commis cas de leze Majesté, pour autant que contre l'auctorité du dit Roy et les privileges du Royaulme, jl avoit impetré la Bulle de sa Legation, au moyen delaquelle, par prevention, jl avoit conferé plusieurs Benefices du patronaige du Roy et d'autres ; Et que à ceste cause debvoit estre privé de tous ses offices et Benefices, aussy de toutes dignités et prerogatives, comme de fayt ilz le privarent, confisquant tous et chescungs ses Biens, meubles, et jmmeubles, et les adjugeant au Roy, et que sa personne deust estre Constituée et demourer prisonnier en une prison Royal icy en Londres, jusques à ce qu'il fust avisé par le Roy de la Condigne justice, elle ne fust donnée en sa presence, en ce luy voulust l'on gratififier, mays jl y avoit ordonné deux procureurs

" All this will be of no easy digestion, but he will not come off for that.

Your very humble and very obedient  
subject and servant,

EUSTACE CHAPUYS."

CHAPUYS TO THE EMPEROR.

London, 6th Feb. 1530.

" Sire,

Since my last letters, the Bishop of Rochester \*

solempnelz de sa part. Cecy, luy sera de mauvayse digestion, mais encoures ne serat jl quicte pour le prix.

Votre très humble et très obeissant

Subject et Serviteur

EUSTACE CHAPUYS."

COPIE DE LA LETTRE ORIGINALE DU S<sup>r</sup> CHAPUYS,  
AMBASSADEUR DE L'EMPEREUR EN ANGLETERRE,

Ecrite au dit Empereur de Londres, le 6 fevrier 1530.

Une petite partie de la lettre est écrite en Chiffre.

" Sire,

Puys mes dernieres lettres, l'Evesque de Rochester Soignieuse de

\* John Fisher, who afterwards refused to take the oath imposed on the members of both houses of Parliament, of Allegiance "to the heirs of the King's by his most dear and entirely beloved wife Queen Anne, begotten and to be begotten," &c. The utmost which could be obtained from him to satisfy the king on this point was, that he would swear allegiance to the King and to the succession, without in any way affirming the illegality of the King's marriage with Queen Catharine. Cranmer was inclined to accept this concession, but Henry,

urged by his care for the King's conscience, for the good of the country, the benefit of the Queen, and his own respect for truth, has finished revising and correcting the book which he lately wrote, and which I sent to Your Majesty. He has also written another, which the Queen has directed me to forward immediately by the present courier, in order that the persons deputed by Your Majesty to support her rights, may have leisure to examine it thoroughly, before the arrival of those who are about to oppose them on the King's part. The said Bishop has entreated the Queen to do so, although he greatly fears being known

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la Conscience du Roy et bien du Royaulme, repos de la Royne et pour le debvour qu'il a à la verité, a paracchevé de reverer et Corriger le livre, jadis per luy compousé que nagueres ay envoyé à Votre Majesté ; et aussy d'en compouster ung autre nouveau, lequel la Royne m'a commandé envoyer à Votre Majesté, par ce Courier exprés, et en toute diligence ; afin que les Députés de la part de Votre Majesté, pour soustenir le Droit et affère de la dite Royne, ayent loysir et opportunité de la visiter et bien examiner avant l'arriver de ceux, que vont la disputer de la part du Roy ; le dit Evesque a sollicité la Royne de ainsy fere, combien qu'il craigne grandement estre

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determined as usual to shew no mercy to those who opposed his will, procured his attainders in Novr. 1534. After suffering the most rigorous and cruel treatment in the Tower, he was brought to the scaffold on the 22nd of June of the following year, and beheaded. Erasmus has borne testimony to his character, as " a man of profound learning, incredible sweetness of temper and uncommon greatness of soul." His severity, however, against the reformers is a lasting stain upon his character.

to be the author of this last work, as the said Queen has informed Your Majesty. His great learning, and the pains he has taken in compiling these works, will be seen in the works themselves, and cannot fail to add great weight to his opinion. His good and pious life, well known at Rome and elsewhere, and his being a subject of the said King's, will also prove, that there need be no suspicion of unfair dealing from him, as there is from many who advocate the King's cause.

“ Sire, the treatment of the Queen continues as bad, I might even say worse than ever. The King absents himself from her as much as possible, and is always here with the lady, whilst the Queen is at Richmond. He has never been so long without visiting her as now, but states as an excuse, that a death from the plague has taken place near her residence. He has also re-

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allegué auteur de ce dit dernier livre, comme la dite Royne en escrit à Votre Majesté ; de la poyne qu'il a prins afere les d<sup>s</sup> livres, l'œuvre en tesgmoignerat, aussy ferat elle de la grande Doctrine d'jcelluy, la quelle accompagner du bon renom de sa bonne et saincte vie, cogneue et divulgué à Rome et ailleurs, ne serat de petite efficace pour donner auctorité et fere adjouster foy à son opinion, meme voyant qu'il est des subjectz du mesme Roy, et que en luy n'y peult avoer scrupule de subornation, comme à ceux qui ont suyvit le party du Roy, selon qu'ay cy devant escris à Votre Majesté.

“ Sire ! la Royne est traitter à l'accoustumer, et que l'ouseroit dire pis que oncques, le Roy se eslongie d'elle, le plus qu'il peult ; il est toujours icy avec la Dame, et la Royne aupres de Riche-mont, et n'a jamais la moitié tant demouré sans la visiter que maintenant. Combien qu'il pregne excuse ou couleur sur ce qu'il estoit mort quelcung de pestilence aupres d'ou reside la Royne : — il a

sumed his attempts to persuade her to become a nun ; this however, is only lost time, for the Queen will never condescend to such a step. The continued trouble and annoyance which she undergoes, constrain her to persevere in importuning Your Majesty, both by her own letters and by mine ; nor will she cease to do so, until her suit is brought to a final conclusion, which she trusts it will be, before Your Majesty leaves Italy.

“Siré, Johan Jocquin, the French Ambassador, has been here for the last twelve days, and has brought money to pay the private pensions, which his master gives here.

“The day after his arrival, he and M. de Langéy, went to Court, and were introduced without ceremony by one of the King’s Chamberlains. They were well received by the King, and had a long interview with him.

“Last Saturday they were again sent for to Court,

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reprins la pratique pour vouloer persuader à la dite Royne de se vouloer rendre nonain, mays c'est toute abussion et poyne perdue, car la Royne ny condescendra au grand jamais. Le continual ennyt et traval, ou elle se treuve la contraignent jimportuner Votre Majesté, tant par des lettres que par les miennes, et ne cesserat qu'il n'y aye Resoullition et determination en son affere, ce qu'elle espere avant le partement de Votre Majesté d’italie.

“Sire, Johan Jocquin, Ambassadeur de France est icy puy douze jours, et a apporté quelque argent pour les pensions particulières que le Roy son maystre donne icy. Lendemain de son arriver, luy et Mons<sup>t</sup> de Langey allerent en Court conduitz sans sermonies par ung de la Chanbre du Roy, le Recueyl qu'ilz Eurent du dit Roy fust bon avec assés longue pratique. Samedi dernierement passe, ilz furent

but remained there a very short time. After their return, they came to visit me, and to invite me to dine with them on Sunday ; on the morning of which day they both came to fetch me. We had a long conversation, but I could discover nothing as to the business of Johan Jocquin's mission further than that he was to remain here some time, and that his chief object was to recover the *fleur de lys*,\* and to pay the said private pensions, In speaking of the peace, and of the Turkish business, he said, that it would be very bad policy of the Princes not to settle the affair of the Vaivode, for that if they did not, the Turk would take it into his hands, which might cause great damage to Christendom. I answered him, that the King of Hungary had endeavoured to do so from the very beginning.

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appelé autrefois en Court, l'a ou ilz demouroit bien peu ; au retord ilz me vindrent visiter et convoyer pour disner le dimenche avec eux ; le matin du dit jour tous deux revindrent pour me mener a disner. Nous fusmes en longues devises ensemble, mays je n'ay peu sentir autre particularité de la Charge du d<sup>t</sup> Johan Jocquin, sinon qu'il me dit qu'il estoit venu pour icy resider quelque temps, et que la chose que l'avoit le plus hasté d'y venir, estoit le Recouvrement de la fleur de Lys, et pour poyer les d<sup>es</sup> pensions particulières. Venant a parler de la paix et de l'affere du Turc, jl commençat à dire, qu'il seroit mal avisé et pourveu, si les princes n'appointoient les afferes du Vaynoda et que n'y remedieroit le turc ; ou seroit grandement dommaigé la Chrestienté :—je lui remoustrey le debvoer en quoy du commencement le Roy d'Ongrie c'estoit mis pour ce fere ; ils ont quelque

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\* It does not appear what this refers to, or the ring elsewhere mentioned.

They are certainly on close terms with the said Vaivode, for they speak very energetically in his favour, as did also M. de Bayonne when he was Ambassador here. Captain Rangon, envoy from the King of France to the said Vaivode, had not returned to France when Jocquin left it, but he told me he believed he would shortly be there, and that he must have taken Venice in his way. He also told me the name of the gentleman who had been dispatched to recal him. Afterwards in the course of conversation, we touched upon the subject of Doctor Stock, and the attempt he had made in Paris, on the part of the King of England, to gain the decision of the Doctors of the University in favour of his divorcing the Queen and marrying another.

They at first said they knew nothing whatever about it, but at last M. de Langey perceiving by the guesses

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grosse Confraternité ensemble car ils parlent asses affectueusement en faveur du dit Vaymoda, et ce faysoit ordinairement Mons<sup>r</sup> de Bayonne estant icy Ambassadeur :—le Cap<sup>r</sup> Rangon Ambassadeur pour le Roy de France de vers le dit Vaymoda, n'estoit encoures de retour en France, quant partit le dit Jocquin, combien à ce qu'il m'a dit, qu'il pensoit qu'il ne tarderoit d'y estre bien toust, et qu'il debvoit avoir pris le Chemin de Venise, et me nommet le gentilhomme que pie ça avoit esté despeché en diligence pour le rapeller.

En apres par continuation de propos nous vinmes a tomber de parler de la poursuytte que le Docteur Stocler de la part du Roy d' Angleterre avoit fayt à Paris pour avoir la determination des Docteurs de l'université pour de divorcier de la Royne et pouvoir le Roy prendre autre. Ils me dirent de prime face, qu'ils n'en scavoint Chose quelconque ; mays à la fin voyant Mons<sup>r</sup> de Langey les conjectures que lui mettés en avant, par lesquelles vray semblablement

I made and the questions which I urged upon him, that his own knowledge of the subject had become evident, admitted, that he was not ignorant of what had passed. He excused his denial by stating, that he had first understood me to mean, that the question had been publicly debated in the Sorbonne by the University, of which he was ignorant ; but that as to private opinions he knew for certain of many whom the said Doctor Stock had consulted, among whom there were several that he had supposed favourable to his views, who had given their opinions exactly contrary to his wishes. The same thing had also happened on the other hand to a Spanish Doctor residing at the Sorbonne, who was soliciting votes in favour of the Queen. M. de Langey spoke of all this with the precision of one who had been present ; and I believe, as I lately wrote to Your Majesty, that he was led by his master's orders to interest himself particularly in this matter ; and in this

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il en debvoit scavoer quelque chose, il fust constraint s'en descouvrir ;  
jl se excusat premier de ce qu'il avoit hyer n'en avoer riens apperceu,  
disant qu'il pensoit que vousisse dire que la question eust été disputé  
en Sorbonne par toute l'université, et de cela ne scavoit jl, mays quant  
à opinions particulieres, jl scavoit bien pour vray que le dit Docteur  
Stocher en avoit demandé l'advis de plusieurs Docteurs, entre les  
quieux, jl s'en estoit trouvés de ceux qu'il tenoit certainement debvoir  
escrire en sa faveur, qu'avoint opiné du Contraire : et le mesme ausy  
estoit advenu à ung Docteur hyspagnol demeurant en Sorbonne, qui  
sollicitait de l'autre cousté en faveur de la Royne ; Et de ce parloit  
assés particulierement comme ce luy que s'estoit trouvé à l'affere, et  
croys comme ay dernierement escris à Votre Majesté, jl s'est aydé  
par le commandement de son maystre à la solicitation du dit affere, et

opinion I am the more confirmed by a letter received yesterday from an Englishman resident in Paris, who mentions the offers that have been made to such of the Doctors as would decide in favour of the King.

“ Sire, in the said letter I was also informed, that one of the chief objects of Johan Jocquin’s mission here, was to reinstate the Cardinal in the King’s favour, which, but for the lady would be easy enough ; for, as I have written to your Majesty, it is commonly believed, that the King has no personal ill-will against the said Cardinal. His principal object seems to be to take possession only of his wealth and effects ; and in this respect it does not appear that he is doing him any great wrong, since the Cardinal has always caused a large expenditure of his money, declaring that all the wealth he himself accumulated was for the service of the King alone. The taking possession of it a little sooner than was meant, ought not to be considered any great sub-

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et ce veys-je hier par une lettre escripte à paris d'un anglois y Resident ; l'a ou jl fait mention des promesses qu'ay escris avoir esté faittes aux Docteurs opinions pour les Roy,

“ Sire, en la ditte lettre avoit aussi advertisement que l'une des principales Charges qu'avoit le dit Johan Jocquin, par de ça, estoit pour rabbillier les afferes du Cardinal avec le Roy, que seroit (sans la Dame) fort aysé ; car comme j'ay escris à Votre Majesté, selon le communq; avis, le Roy ne porte nulle hayne au dit Cardinal ; et s'il y a eu quelque male voulenté ce a esté contre les Biens, n'ont point contre la personne, et en ce semble que le Roy ne luy aye peu fere grand tort, car puisque le dit Cardinal luy avoit fait dispendre grand argent, Et qu'il disoit que tout ce qu'il accumuloit n'estoit que pour le Roy, d'en prendre l'administration et possession ung peu plus toust

ject of offence or injury, by the said Cardinal; especially since, from the moment he began to suspect his disgrace up to his total ruin, the said Cardinal has always repeated, that the king could not do him a greater favour than to take and use everything he possessed, saying that it all proceeded from his own bounty. To prove further that the King did not bear him any real hatred, I have been informed that, from the beginning, he determined not to lay this case before Parliament, because had it decided against the Cardinal, he could not, in face of such a decision, have pardoned him, as he intended to do, and has done;—which your Majesty will be further informed of by and bye.

“Sire, the said J. Jocquin lodges at the house of one of the Cardinal’s confidential servants, and soon after his arrival, the Cardinal, though still unwell and under his doctor’s hands, sent the said doctor, a Vene-

que ne vouloit ne pensoit le dit Cardinal, le Roy ne pensera l’avoir en Riens grefvé ne injuré, avec ce que le Cardinal dois qu’il commença soupeconner de son infortune, et dempuys qu’il fust ruyné, a tojours dit, que le Roy ne luy pouvoit fere plus grand Bien que de prendre et se ayder de tout ce qu’il avoit, qu’estoit procedé toutellement des Biens de d<sup>t</sup> Roy. Et pour tesmoignage, que le Roy ne lui portait fort mauvaise voulenté, l’on m'a dit que doys le commencement le Roy ne vouloust fere diffinir le cas du dit Cardinal par les estatz generaux du Royaume; pour ce que apres contre leur diffinitive et ordonnance jl n'eust ainsy peu pardonner au Cardinal, comme jl desliberoit et a fayt, ainsy que verrat Votre Majesté cy dessous.

“Sire, le dit Johan Jocquin est lougé à la mayson d’ung des privés serviteurs qu’eust le Cardinal; peu apres qu’il fust icy arrivé le dit Cardinal combien qu’il fust encourés aucunement mal disposué,

tian, in whom, as a foreigner and man of sense he much confides, to the said Jocquin, with whom he has now been staying four or five days.

“ I have no doubt, that the French would do anything in their power to reinstate the Cardinal, for notwithstanding the fair face which they present to the Duke of Norfolk, I know that they do not place much reliance on him. Were this scheme successful, the result would be greatly to their advantage ; but if it fail, as is most probable, it would serve only to irritate those now in power, whose very lives are at stake.

“ Sire, as I lately informed Your Majesty, the said Cardinal has been ill ; or as some say, has feigned illness in hopes that the King would visit him. This he did not do, but he sent him the best remedy for his illness, namely, a promise of pardon and oblivion of all

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et qu'il heust affere de son medecin qu'est Venetien, toutes fois pour etre homme d'esprit, estrangier, et duquel il se fie, jl envoia au dit Jocquin, et a icy demouré environ quatre ou cinq jours. Je luy fays double, que si les francais scavoint trouver le moyen de le reintegrer qu'ils n'y espargneroient Chose du monde pour le pousser ; car quelque beau semblant qu'ils facent à Monsieur de Nolphoc, je says bien, ils ne se confient par trop en luy :—la pratique bien desmelé, ne pourroit estre plus advantageuse pour eux, mays, elle n'est sans gros dangier de demourer jmpossible, et de jrriter ceux que ont le credit et maniement aux quieux y va la vie.

“ Sire, ainsy qu'ay dernierement escris à Votre Majesté, le dit Cardinal a esté malade ou à ce que l'on dit a faint de l'estor, affin que le Roy le allast visiter, ce qu'il n'a fayt, mays en recompense, jl y envoyat la medicine à son mal necessaire, c'est a scavoir promesse de luy fere grace, pardonnance, et abolition de tout ce que l'on l'avoit

charges made against him. On hearing which, he immediately began to improve, and is now quite convalescent. To day he is to receive the act of grace and oblivion in form, as he requested. The King is to leave him the full enjoyment of the Archbishopric of York, and to give him a yearly pension of three thousand angels, to be raised from the revenues of the Bishopric of Winchester; in consideration thereof, he is to give up all claims on that and every other benefice. The King, beside the ten thousand angels which he gave him since his condemnation, has restored to him two services of plate, and tapestry enough for five rooms; the rest of his money and goods are to remain in the King's possession. With regard to his house in this city, the said King has, within the last few days, taken legal possession of it, and incorporated it in his patrimony, and in its place he is to give another which will be attached to the Archbishopric of York. Master

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Chargé ; quoy entendu, jl commenca a se bien porté et se treuve maintenant en playnne Convalescence. Et luy doit estre aujourdhuys deslivrer la patente de sa d<sup>e</sup> abolition en la forme qu'il la sceu demander :—le Roy luy laysse playnement la jouyssance de son Archevesché de Yorc, luy a constituté troys mille angelotz de pension, qu'il prendrat annuellement sur l'Evesché de Vuinecestre et moyen ce, quiete le d<sup>t</sup> Vuinecestre et tous autres Benefices ;—le Roy, oultre dix mille angelotz qu'il luy a donné puys qu'il á este condamné, il luy rend de sa vaisselle, pour deux services et de tapisserie pour cinq Chambres, la Reste de l'Argent et Meuble demeure au Roy. Or la mayson de ceste ville, le dit S<sup>r</sup> Roy en apris ses jours passés la possession solempnelle selon les statutz du Royaume, et la jncorporé à son patrimoine. Et aulieu d'jcelle yl en donnerat une autre que serat des archevesques

Russell told me, that on account of a few words in favour of the Cardinal which he had said to the King, *the lady* had held him in dudgeon and refused to speak to him for a whole month ; and that a week ago the Duke of Norfolk told him how much he had offended the said lady, his niece ; and added, that she was also considerably irritated against himself, for not having used his favour to the utmost against the said Cardinal ; concerning which she had made many complaints.

“ After this, the Duke asked Master Russell, whether he was not of opinion, that the Cardinal still cherished the wish and hope of being restored to favour. He replied, that he thought, the Duke must be aware of the courage and ambition of the said Cardinal, which would never lead him to draw back, in case of a favourable opportunity of re-entering office ; and that this was not unlikely to occur, if the King should require his coun-

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du dit Yorc. Maystre Rossel m'a dit que a cause qu'il avoit porté quelques parolles au Roy en faveur du dit Cardinal, que le Dame avoit bien demouré ung moys luy tenant troquie, et refusat luy parler ; et que jly a six jours que le Duc de Nolphocluy declayrast comme la ditte Dame sa Niepce, avoit bien esté corosser contre le d<sup>t</sup> Maystre Rossel, si avoit elle aussy contre luy mesme pour autant qu'il n'avoit fait contre le dit Cardinal lont au pis qu'il heust peu et de avoit elle fayt plusieurs douleances. Aprés ce le dit Duc vint a demander au d<sup>t</sup> Maystre Rossel s'il estoit point d'opinion que le Cardinal heust encores espoer ou fantesie de retourneur en credit ; et luy respondant le dit Maystre Rossel, qu'il debvoit assez cognoistre que le cuer et ambition du dit Cardinal n'estoit pour reculer ou jl verroit l'opportunité d'embrasser les offeres, et qu'il ny falloit autre opportunité sinon qu'il survinse quelque affere dont le Roy heust mestier du Conseil du

sel and assistance in any matter, which he had formerly been accustomed to transact. Upon this the Duke began to swear vehemently, that sooner than allow this, he would eat him up alive ; and I understand that to prevent any such possibility, the Cardinal has been forbidden to approach within six or seven English miles of the Court.

“ Sire, a cousin of the physician of the said Cardinal told me, that during his illness *the lady* had sent to visit him, and had represented herself as favouring him with the King, which is a thing difficult to believe, after what I have stated above, and considering the hatred which she has always borne him. Either she must have thought he was dying, or she wished to shew her talent for dissimulation and intrigue, of which she is generally reputed a perfect mistress ; or finally, Johan Jocquin must have begun to work miracles.

“ Sire, I have heard, that the German who arrived

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dit Cardinal touchant les matieres qu'il ce autrefoys demenées. Lors le dit Duc commençat très fort a jurer, que avant que souffrir cela, il le mangeroit tout vif; j'entens que pour remedier à ce inconvenient, il ayt esté ordonné qu'il n'approcheroit la Court de cinq ou sept mille de ce pays. Sire, ung Cousin du medecin du dit Cardinal, m'a dit, que la Dame l'avoit envoyer visiter durant sa maladie, et se presenter de luy estre favorable vers le Roy, qu'est chose dure a Croyre, attendu ce que dessus et l'nnimitie qu'elle luy a toujours porté; et n'estoit ou qu'elle pensast qu'il d'heust mourir, ou qu'elle heust monstré sa dissimulation et affayterie, de quoy au dit communq; elle est bonne ouvrière; ou que Johan Jocquin heu desja commencé afere quelque miracle.

“ Sire, j'ay entendu que l'allemand, qu'arrivat icy le second jour de

here the second day in Christmas week, and whom I mentioned to your Majesty, comes from Duke Frederic Elector of Saxony. I have set all the spies I could to discover what he can be about, and have got a merchant to feast him splendidly several times in banquets where the rich wines were not spared ; but he has been unsuccessful in drawing anything from him except that he belongs to Duke Frederic, that he had commanded a company of Germans in Your Majesty's service both in Spain and Italy, and that he was present at the capture of the King of France. The said merchant, according to a plan which we had agreed on together, pretended one evening, after having entertained the said German at supper, that on account of his ill-fortune in trade, he should be glad to follow some other line of life, and that if he thought anything could be gained by it, he would willingly accompany him to Germany. The said German replied, that if he liked to come, he would be sure

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noel, dont ay adverty Votre Majesté, est du Duc Frederique l'Electeur de Saxe ; j'ay mis toutes les Espies qu'ay peu, pour entendre qu'il tramoyt, et l'ay fayt banquetter par un marchant plusieurs foys et richement abbrever pour tirer quelque Chose, mays ils n'a peu entendre sauf qu'il estoit au dit Duc, et qu'il avoit esté Cap<sup>ne</sup> d'allemans aux armées de Votre Majesté, tant en hyspaigne que en Italye, et se trouvat à la prince du Roy ;— le dit marchant ainsy qu'avons advisé ensemble faignist ung soir apres avoer donné a souper au dit allemand que pour l'infortune qu'il avoit en marchandises, jl voudroit bien suivre autre train, et que s'il luy sembloit qu'il y peust faire quelque proufit, qu'il s'eniroit voulentiers avec luy en allemagne ; le dit allemand luy dit, que s'il vouloit venir que bon party ne luy faudroit, et affin qu'il ne pensat, le voyant icy sans grand fauste que fust pour

to receive ample encouragement; and in order that he might not suppose his present apparently small circumstances to argue a want of money, he emptied before him a little bag containing about fifteen hundred angels, saying at the same time, that it was nothing to what he should have before he left England, and that he wished the merchant to assist him in getting bills for the amount in some part of Germany, I believe at Frankfort.

The said merchant went on to enquire what service he was likely to be employed in, and where he should have to go, but the other declined telling him anything further, stating that any discovery might cost him his life. Up to the present time, therefore, I have found out nothing else, but hope to do so ere long, by means of some of those whom I have on the watch. I do not know anything more about the person who is said to have been sent by the Bishop of Mayence, save that he came to speak to the King in favour of the Cardinal.

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faute d'argent, jl luy vuydat devant ung petit sac plain d'Angelotz, ou jl y en pouvoit avoir 15 Cens, et luy dis, que ce n'estoys riens, qu'il en auroit bien autre somme avant que deslouger d'icy, et qu'il luy voulust ayder pour le luy fere tenir en Allemagne, je Cuyde à Francfort par letters de change : Le dit marchant a toujours porsuyt d'entendre et le party qu'il luy voudroit trouver, et ou ilz auroint d'aller, l'autre a toujours differé luy en vouloir riens declayrer encoures, car si le cas estoyst descouvert, jl y gissoit sa vie. Jusques à ceste heure, je n'ay peu autre scavoir, si espere je que ne Tarderay au Moyen de caux qu'ay apres, que n'entende une bonne partie de ce qu'il est icy venu fere : Je n'ay aussy riens peu scavoir de celuy que l'on dit estre icy de la part de Mons'. de Mayence. Sinon, qu'il

He is to leave this next week, and is to take with him several horses which he has bought, besides two which are a gift from the King.

"The said two servants of the Duke of Saxony and Monseign<sup>r</sup>. of Mayence have not had much communication, at least not in public, whether they have in private or not I am ignorant. The one belonging to the Duke appears well dressed at Court, but on leaving it, changes his habiliments immediately. The agent of Nuremberg, named Laurence Scavre, who is a pensioner of the King's, was sent, as I am told, to return with the said people. Whilst conversing yesterday with Brian Tursk, we entered into conversation respecting these said Germans, and he told me that some of them were sent by one who had always written against Luther, and that he could show me the letters which the King had received, accompanied by a geographical chart. I told him I

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estoit venu pour requerer le Roy d'avoer regard au Cardinal, jl doit party la semaine que vient et ammene plusieurs Chevaux qu'il a achatté, hors deux que le Roy a donné ;—les dit deux hommes des d<sup>s</sup> Seig<sup>rs</sup>. de Saxe et Mayence, n'ont point en grand communication ensemble, au moins en public, en particulier je ne scay, celuy du Duc en la Court se trouve honnetement accoustré, mais sortant de là, jncontinent jl changeat d'habillemens ; Celuy de Norembert nommé Laurent Scavre pensionnaire du Roy et despeché a ce que l'on m'a dit, pour s'en aller avec les dits gens. Parlant hier avec Brianturx, nous entrasmes en propos des d<sup>s</sup> Allemans, jl me dit, une Fays qu'ilz estoint venus quelcungs d'eux, de la part d'ung qu'avoit toujours escrit contre Luther, et qu'il me monstreroit les lettres que le Roy en avoit receu avec une Carte de Cosmographie ; je luy dis que ne parles de Cestuy qu'estoit seulement arrivé puyt huyt jours.

was only speaking of the one who arrived about eight days ago. With regard to the others, he said that they were here on their own private affairs, and were not meddling with anything else, which he knew for certain. Afterwards he said, that it was true he had not always been present in the Council, and that some things might have taken place there, with which he was not acquainted. Finally, he left me in greater perplexity than before. The said Brian Tursk, speaking of what had been going on in Paris in the affair of the King and Queen, told me quite openly, that it was perfectly true, that the French desired nothing less than an increase of friendship and confidence between Your Majesty and the King, and on this subject he said no more. He also told me of the King's determination to manage his own affairs, for which purpose he has nominated several councillors, in order that when the Duke of Norfolk, the Chancellor, and others are detained

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Touchant les autres, jl me dit, qu'ils estoient icy pour leurs affaires particulières, et que autres Choses ne traytoient, et qu'il leust bien sceut, puys me dit, qu'il estoit bien vray qu'il ne s'estoit trouvé toujours en Conseil, et qu'il y porroit avoir autres Choses qu'il ne scait point ; enfin jl me laissat en plus grand suspiccion que pardevant : le dit Brian Turz devisant de ce qu'avoit été demené à paris en l'affere du Roy et de la Royne me dit tout ouvertement qu'il n'estoit rien si vray que les Francois desireroient bien, qu'il ny heust nulle affinité entre votre Majesté et le Roy, il ne passat plus oultre ; jl me dit aussy de la deliberation que le Roy avoit d'Entendre luy mesme en ses affaires, et que a Ceste occasion jl avoit esleu plusieurs Conseillers, affin que quant Mons<sup>r</sup>. de Nolphoc, le Chancellier et aultres qui sont icy empeschés aux affaires de la

here by their duties, and cannot be in attendance on the King, he may not be without a council. He has therefore caused the Parliament to pass an act to the effect, that in the absence of the others, the President of the Council attending on his person, should possess the same power and authority as the Chancellor, the Grand Treasurer of England, and the other officers of justice. To this office the Duke of Suffolk has been appointed.

“Sire, a lapidary arrived here yesterday, sent by *Madame* to investigate the pieces of the Fleur de lys ; he will do so as soon as he is permitted to see it without hindrance ; but if the King continues in the same mind as when I last wrote to your Majesty, namely, to send it by a confidential agent, well sealed up, it will not be necessary to have it particularly examined here. For it must then be done by the persons whom Your Majesty will appoint to receive it.

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justice, et ne pourront estre aux Champs avec le Roy qu'il ne soyt desproueu de Conseil ; Et pour ce jl fist passer par l'ordonnance des Estatz generaux, que en l'absence des autres, le President de son Conseil Resident avec sa personne, heust telle auctorité en toutes Choses, comme si le Chancellier et le Grand Tresourier d'Angleterre, et autres officiers de la justice, ilz fuissent entrevenus ; en quel office a esté député le Duc de Suffocq.

Sire, hier arriva icy, ung lapidayre serviteur de Madame, qu'elle a icy envoyé pour recognoystre les pieces de la fleur de Lys, il assisterat quant l'on la lui monstrerat, et la pourrat visiter sans autre semblant, Car si le Roy continue au propos qu'ay dernierement esris à Votre Majesté de l'envoyer par son homme et bien Cachetté, jl n'est besoign d'icy fere scrupuleuse visitation ; cela appertiendrat a ceux qui seront commis de la part de Votre Majesté pour la recovyre.

"Sire, one of those whom I commissioned to watch the agent of the Duke of Saxony, has just come to assure me of a fact which he could positively authenticate, namely, that this man, accompanied by Laurence Scavre of Nuremberg, has spent the greatest part of this morning with the Chancellor, and that after they had been there some time, the said Chancellor sent for some German merchants, to treat with them of the interest they would demand for transmitting to Frankfort some money which the King intended to give the said agent. The sum was not named, but they were only asked their rate of interest. They did not come to any arrangement about it, both because of a difference as to the interest, and also because the King was not to give them the money immediately, though it was promised them in the course of two or three days. The said agent has all along pretended that he was to remain

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Sire, l'ung de ceux qu'avés chargé d'espier l'homme du Duc de Saxe, m'est venu tout à ceste heure rapporter pour vraye verité et comme celuy que pouvoit certainement depouiser, que le dit homme accompagnié de Laurens Scavre de Neurember, avoit été la plus part de ceste matiner avec le Chancellier, et que ayant demouré ung bon espace leans le dit Chancellier envoyat querre quelques marchans austrellens pour traytter avec eux de l'jnterest qu'ilz voudroint avoer pour rendre quelque argent à Frankfort, que le Roy y vouloit fere tenir au dit homme. Jl ne declayrat point la somme, mais seulement leur propousat combien d'jnterest ilz voudroint prendre pour livrer; ilz ne peurent pour lors riens concclure, tant pour la difference qu'ilz avoient sur le dit jnterest, que aussy à Cause que le Roy ne presentoit de bayllier icy l'argent tout à l'heure. Bien qu'il se disse que dans deux ou troys jours, jl se delivredoit: le dit homme a tojours faintct de sejourner icy plus

here some time, but it is certain that unless the difficulty concerning bills of exchange should detain him, he will go away this evening. He said once before, that he should return through Antwerp, but on being asked where he was accustomed to lodge at Antwerp, and what road he meant to take this time, nothing would induce him to mention either. Neither will he tell his name, nor allow positively that he is in the Duke of Saxony's service, and when he was asked privately, why he did not do so, as the agent of the Bishop of Mayence had done, he neither avowed the fact, nor did he deny it. He said to some one, that the time was come, when people of talent and courage would find plenty of employment in Germany ; for that Your Majesty shortly intended bringing over a powerful army to chastise and oppress the country, which the Princes of Germany and the Imperial cities would never submit to ;

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longuement, mays resoluement si la difficulté du change qu'il veult avoer ne le detient, jl partirat ce soer ; jl y a autre-fois dit, qu'il repasseroit par anvers, et combien qu'il aye este jnterrogé du lougis qu'il a accoustumé d'avoir au dit Envers, et du Chemin qu'il desliberoit de tenir maintenenent, jl n'en a voulu oncques rien declayrer, ne aussy son nom ; pareillement à ce qu'entens, jl ne se avoyé expressemement estre du dit Duc, mays quant lon luy a dit à part pourquoy il ne se avoyoit aussy bien au dit Duc, comme faysoit celuy de mons'. de Mayence d'estre à son Maystre, à l'heure, s'il ne l'a avoé, jl ne l'a point aussy desavoe : jl a dit à quelcung que le temps estoit venu, que les gens de cœur et d'Esprit feroient grandement leur besongnies en Allemaigne, Car Votre Majesté, faysoit son Compte de venir en Allemaigne avec puissante armée pour Chastier et opprimer jcelle, ce que ne voudront souffrir les princes ne villes jmperiales, et que luy trouveroit de telles gens

and that if he could find people of the description referred to, he would answer for their being well treated and provided for.

I caused the person who told me the above to ask him whether, in case Your Majesty after Your Coronation should wish to nominate a King of the Romans of your own choice, there would be any opposition? He only grumbled a little at this, but made no remark, except that that business was not yet over.

“Sire, I heard all this from one of my German merchants. He was one of those that appeared before the chamberlain about the exchange business, and is dying with fear of being discovered.

“Sire, considering all these circumstances, if the said agent had not been about to depart so suddenly I should have advertised *Madame*, in order that she might have him stopped and searched at Gravelines; and if your Majesty wishes to penetrate further into these mysteries, it may be done by means of Laurence Scavre of Nuremberg who is going with him.

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d'esprit, qu'il les feroit bien pourveor et traytter: je luy ay fait demandé par l'homme que m'a cecy rapporté, a seavoir, si Votre Majesté apres sa couronation desliberoit fere eslire à son appetit ung Roy des Romains, s'il y auroit Contreditte? jl en grondist ung peu, puys ne dit autre sinon que ce n'estoit Chose faytte.

Sire, j'ay entendu le tout par ung de mesmes Austrelins qu'a esté demande devant le Chambellan pour faire la Charge que m'eust de pauuer d'etre descouvert.

Sire, voyant toutes ces choses, si le dit homme ne fust partit si soudain, j'eusse advertis Madame pour le faire visiter à Grasvelinghes, et si Votre Majesté desire seavoir entierement les misteres, cela se pourroit faire par le moyen de Laurens scavre de Neremberg qui s'en va avec luy.

“ Sire, Your Majesty was pleased at my departure to direct me to remind you of my trifling personal affairs through M. de Granvelle ; I have written to him on the subject in order not to trouble your Majesty with a longer letter, and I humbly pray that you will be graciously pleased to attend to what he will tell you.

Your very humble and obedient subject and servant,  
EUSTACE CHAPUYS.

SR. CHAPUYS TO THE EMPEROR.

London, Nov. 27, 1530.

A part of this letter is in cypher.

“ Sire,

The prevalence of a rumour, now current, that in the ensuing Parliament, to commence at the feast of the purification of our lady, the King intends attempting

Sire, il pleust à Votre Majesté me commander à mon partement le fere remantouer de mes pouvres afferes par Mons<sup>s</sup>. de Granvelles ; je luy en escris quelque chose ; pour non ennuyer de plus longue lettre Votre Majesté, laquelle supplie très humblement vouloir quelque esgard à jceux de Londres le 6<sup>e</sup>. Fevrier 1530.

Votre tres humble et tres obeissant

subjetz et Serviteur

EUSTACE CHAPUYS.

Conforme à l'original.

1530, 27, Novembre.

Une partie de la lettre est ecrite en Chiffre.

“ Sire,

La Continuation dé bruyt qu'a pieca couru, que en ce Parlement, recommencant à la purification nostre Dame, le Roy deslibere attenter quelque chause au fait de ce divorce, aussy l'ennuy du delay de

something concerning this divorce, and the tediousness with which her cause has been delayed, have induced the Queen to write to your Majesty. She prays that you will be pleased to intercede in her favour with the Pope, and incline His Holiness to take measures for the furtherance of what he agreed to on the reception of the memorial presented by M. May (my confidential agent being present).

She further prays, that her suit may be hastened without longer delay, from which no good can result, but rather much harm, as your Majesty will perceive by the duplicate of the Queen's letter to the Pope, and by my former letters in which the subject has been dwelt upon more fully, as well as by those of M. May, and the Nuncio, the latter of whom again confirms the same in the letter which accompanies this present one.

It is said that every possible exertion is making, to prepare this subject for the said parliament, and that a book in favour of the King is to be printed, in order to gain the common people.

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son procés ont esmeu la Royne escripre presentement à Votre Majesté affin qu'il luy pleust jnterceder vers le Pape pourveoer en son affere; suvant ce sa S<sup>te</sup> l'avoit accordé sur le memorial que Mess<sup>re</sup> May presenta à sa d<sup>e</sup> S<sup>te</sup>, estant là mon homme, et neantmoins fere tirer avant le procés sans plus dilacions, desquelles ne peust sortir nul bon fruyt sinon tout prejudice ainsi que Votre Majesté pourra veoer par le double des lettres que la d<sup>e</sup> Royne escrit au Pape, de quoy plus amplement ay cy-devant adverty Votre Majesté at aussy Mess<sup>rs</sup> May et pareillement le nonce qu'en a desja escrit et parles presentes que vont avec cestes le Confirme, l'on dit qu'il font icy les preparations possibles pour dispouer le matiere pour le temps du d<sup>t</sup> Parlement et

"Eight days ago, the Dean of the Chapel, as King's attorney in this cause, appeared officially before the Archbishop of Canterbury's chancellor, and presented him with eight documents, which he required should be put into an authentic, juridical and probative form. These were the decisions of the Universities respecting this matter of the divorce ; whereof two were from Paris, one from the theological faculty, and one from the Canonists ; the others from the Universities of Toulouse, Orleans, Burgos, Bologna, Padua and Pavia. I think it more likely that they will publish these documents rather than any book, since they cannot be so easily answered, and the people will rely on their authority with more confidence.

"In case they do so, the best remedy would be, to get the attestation of those votes which were in favour of the Queen in Paris, and to publish the opinions of such

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se parloit de fere jnprimer quelque livre en faveur du Roy affin que le peuple en fust abbeurre. Jl y a huit jours que le Doyen de la Chapelle comme procureur du Roy en ceste cause se appareust enjurement devant le Chancellier de l'Archevesque de Canterbury luy requerant fere transumpter en forme authentique, juridique et probatoire huit jnstrumens qu'il luy presentoit qu'estoint les determinations des Universités sur ceste matiere de divorce, dont yl y en avoit deux de paris, l'ung de la faculté de Theologie, l'autre, des Canonistes ; la reste estoint des Universités de Tholouze, Orleans, Burges, Bolongne, Padua, et Pavie, et ce croyres-je plustost, qu'il feroint imprimer que nul livre, car à ce ne leur pourroit l'on si souffizantement respondre que à ung livre, et ausi le peuple y adjoustera plus de foy et auctorité à quoy ny a plus propice remède que d'obtenir l'attestation des voix qu'ont esté a paris en faveur de la Royne, fere aussi imprimer les

Universities as decided against the King. Also, to circulate any of the best books which can be found, as was done in Spain with the Bishop of Rochester's. Some people thought, that the good Bishop would be annoyed about it, for fear of the King's displeasure, but, seeing that it had been done without his own knowledge, he has proved perfectly indifferent. I therefore conclude, that he will not be displeased if the two books which he has written since, are printed also, and I have commissioned M. May to get them done. It would be well to have several copies of them here, to be distributed as the case may require, at the opening of the said Parliament.

" Sire, within the last few days a present of poultry has been sent to the Queen by the Duchess of Norfolk, and with it an orange, in which was enclosed a letter from Gregory Cassal\* which I deem proper to send to

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determinations des Universités que tiennent contre le Roy et aucun des meilleurs livres comme il ont fait en hyspagne de celluy de l' Evesque de Rochestre de quoy plusieurs pensoient, que le dit bon Evesque pour craincte du Roy en seroit desplaisant, mais il ne luy en chault, puisque cela a esté fait sans son sceau, et si ne luy desplaiera que les autres deux qu'il a dempuys faitz soyent imprimés de compagnie, et à ceste cause en ay escris à Mess<sup>re</sup> May qu'a bon moyen de ce fere. Et du tout seroit requis on avoir plusieurs Copies pour les semer par icy et les publier solempnemant si le Cas le requeroit comme pense sera nécessaire au tems du d<sup>e</sup> parlement.

" Sire, ces jours la Duchesse de Nolphoc envoya à la Royne ung present de volaille, et avec jcelluy une pomme d'orange dans laquelle estoit enclose une lettre de Gregoire Cassal, laquelle me

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\* One of King Henry VIII.'s Ministers at the Court of Rome.

your Majesty. The Queen thinks, that the Duchess sent her this present of her own accord, and out of the love she bears her, but I fear it was done with the knowledge of her husband; at all events this seems to open a way for the Queen to communicate secretly with her more easily.

“ Eight days ago the King ordered the Cardinal to be brought here; on hearing which, the said Cardinal abstained from food for several days. It is said that he hoped rather to end his life in this manner than in a more ignominious and dishonourable one, of which he had some fears; and in consequence of this abstinence he has been taken ill on the road, and is not yet arrived. They say also, that a lodging is prepared for him in the Tower, in the same part that the Duke of Buckingham occupied; many reasons are assigned for his arrest, but they are all mere conjectures.

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semble bon envoyer à Votre Majesté. La Royne croit que la Duchesse luy ait fait ce present d'elle mesme pour amour qu'elle luy porte; mais je craindrais plustost que ce fut du sceu de son mary, en quelque sorte que ce soit si esse moyen à la Royne d'entrer en quelque pratique dissimulant avec elle mieulx que par le passé.

“ Le Roy a, passé huit jours, ordonné que icy fut ammené le Cardinal, quoy entendant le dit Cardinal, il a demouré quelques jours sans vouloir manger, veullant plustost comme l'on dit ainsi finir que plus ignomineusement et honteusement dont yl a quelque doute; pour ainsi yl a esté surprins sur le chemin de maladie, de sorte qu'il n'est encoures arrivé—l'on dit que son lougis luy est appresté à la tour en la Chambre mesmes ou fust detenu le Duc de Boquignan; de la Cause de sa prinse l'on en parle en plusieurs sortes,

" A gentleman told me, that a short time ago, the King was complaining to his Council of something that had not been done according to his wish, and exclaimed in great wrath, that the Cardinal was a very different man from any of *them*, for conducting all things properly ; and having repeated the same twice over, he left them in displeasure. Since this time the Duke, *the Lady*,\* and the Father have never ceased plotting against the said Cardinal, and the lady especially, who has wept and lamented over her lost time and honour, and threatened the King that she would go away. They say the King has had enough to do to quiet her, and even though he entreated her most affectionately, and with tears in his eyes, not to leave him, nothing would satisfy her but the arrest of the Cardinal. The pretext given out, was, that he had

que sont toutes divinations. ung gentilhomme m'a dit que peu de temps avant qu'il fust prins, le Roy soy Complainant à ceulx de son Conseil de quelque chose que n'avoit esté faite à son appetit, leur dit en courroux, que le Cardinal estoit autre homme pour demmener toutes matieres qu'ilz nestoient eux trestous. Et sur ces propoz se partist deux fois, lors le Duc, la Dame et le Pere n'ont cessé de machiner contre le dit Cardinal speciallement la ditte Dame que ne cessoit de plorer regrettant son temps perdu, et aussi son honneur menassant aussi le Roy de s'en vouloir aller, de sorte que le Roy a eu assez affere de la rappaiser, et bien que le Roy la priast tres affectueusement voyre jusques avoer les larmes aux yeux qu'elle ne voulust parler de s'en aller, toutesfois yl n'y avoit rémede sans qu'il feit prendre le dit Cardinal :—yl luy mettoint dessus, pour lors

\* Anna Boleyn.

written to Rome to be reinstated in his possessions, and to France for support and credit, that he was beginning to resume his former splendid habits of living and that he was trying to corrupt the people. Now, however, they have got the physician of the said Cardinal into their hands, and have discovered what they looked for.

"The said physician, ever since the second day of his coming here, has been, and still is, treated as a prince in the house of the Duke of Norfolk, which clearly shews that he has been singing to the right tune.

"Johan Jocquin would not say a word about it to the Pope's Nuncio who interrogated him very closely, but he told the Venetian Ambassador, that by the Doctor's own confession the Cardinal had solicited the Pope to excommunicate the King, and to lay an interdict on the Kingdom if the King did not dismiss the lady from court, and treat the Queen with proper respect. By

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qu'il avoit deu escrire à Rome pour estre reintegré en ses Biens, en France pour estre en ce favourisé, et pour retourner en credit, qu'il commençoit à retourner en ses anciennes pompes, qu'il vouloit suborner le peuple, mais depuys qu'ilz ont eu le Medecin du dit Cardinal entre mains, ilz ont trouvé ce qu'ilz cherchaient; le dit medecin puis le second jour qu'il fut icy, a esté et est traitté en la mayson de Mons<sup>r</sup>. de Nolphoc, comme ung prince, qui donne assez à entendre qu'il a Chanté comme ilz demandoient. Johan Jocquain n'en a voulu riens dire au Nonce du Pape que l'en jnterroga fort expressemment, mais jl a dit à l'Ambassadeur de Venise qu'il se trouvait par confession du medecin que le Cardinal avoit fait solliciter que le Pape feit excommunier le Roy et jnterdire le Royaulme, si le dit Roy ne chassoit la Dame de Court, et aussi pour ce qu'il ne traictoit la Royne deuement; pensant par ce moyen que tout le

this means he hoped, it is said, to cause a rising throughout the country against the Government, and in the confusion to seize upon the management of affairs again himself.

“The said Jocquin, in his conversation with the said Ambassador, found much fault with the malignity of the Cardinal, but I cannot tell whether this was done in order to dissemble his annoyance at the arrest, or out of real spite against the said Cardinal for his opposition to this second marriage, on which alone depend the favour and credit which the French enjoy here.

“Sire, it appears to me, that the said physician must have denied having any understanding or acquaintance with me, for if otherwise, the Duke who is but a bad dissembler, would have said something to me about it. They might also have summoned him who was the means of communication, to whom the physician wrote, and who returned the answers; but up to this time he has not heard a word of it. Even should the

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Royalme se mutineroit contre les Gouvernemens, et que en tel trouble jl rempoigneroit le manyement :—le dit Jocquin detestoit fort au dit Ambassadeur la malignité du dit Cardinal, ne scay s'il le faisoit pour dissimuler le anuyt de la prinse d'jcelluy, qu'il le dit de pure marisson de ce que le dit Cardinal vouloit obvier à ce second mariage qu'est la chose dont deppend tout la faveur et Credit que les Français ont icy.

“Sire, jl me semble que le dit medecin a declaré qu'il ne eust aucune jntelligence ne Cognoissance avec moy, car s'il eust fait, le Duc que dissimule mal vuelentiers, m'en eust touché quelque chose, aussi l'on eust appellé celuy questoit le mediateur à qui rescrivoit le dit medecin et que luy faisoit les responces, mais jusques à ceste heure

physician repeat every word that has passed between him and me, he could say nothing for which I should be liable to be impugned or calumniated.

"Ample information has been received from France touching what passed about the convocation of the Council, and I am told that Johan Jocquin said to one of his intimates who repeated it to the Nuncio, that the King of France would raise some difficulties on this subject, especially with regard to the places that have been named; but I did not make any further enquiries on this head, knowing that your Majesty would receive more certain information from France.

"While passing through Milan, on his return from Bologna, the *Count de Vulcher* (Earl of Wiltshire\*) gave the Duke of Milan some hope that he would be able to raise a loan of 50,000 crowns here; but it appears that eight days ago he was obliged to inform

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lon ne luy a sonné mot. Et quant bien le dit medecin diroit tout ce quest passé entre luy et moy, ne scaurois toutesfois dire Chose pour laquelle l'on ne peust riens impugner ne Calumpnier.

"De France ilz ont icy adverty amplement de tout ce quest passé touchant la Convocation du Concile, et a deu dire Johan Jocquin a ung sien familier, qu'il a rapporté au Nonce, que le Roy de France ne se consentiroit volentiers au dit Concile, specialement quant aux lieux nommez; je ne m'en suis voulu enquerre autrement, sachant Votre Majesté en sera plus seurement advertie du Costé de France.

"Le Conte de Vulcher passant par Millan, à son retoure de Bolongne deust donner quelque esperance au Duc de Millan, de luy fere icy preter cinquante mille Escuz, mais yl y a environ huit jours

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\* Sir Thomas Boleyn, Father of Anne Boleyn, created Viscount Rochford and Earl of Wiltshire.

the Ambassador, that he must give it up, since the King himself is in want of money, owing to the people he employs in Ireland, of whom I have already informed Your Majesty, there are, at most, five hundred in number.

“ Within the last few days, the King has received some deputies from Scotland, but I have not yet been able to ascertain their object in coming. Some people suspect, that a promise has been made, or a hope held out as to a marriage for the Princess, which will divert the King of Scotland from any project of a nearer alliance with your Majesty or with any other power.

“ I hope to give your Majesty more certain intelligence of this, next time.

“ The Lutheran merchants that were detained here, as I mentioned to your Majesty in my last dispatch, have undergone no further punishment than to be paraded through some streets of the city in their caps

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qu'il fit responce à l'Ambassadeur qu'il n'y avoit nul espoir, car le Roy se trouvoit en nécessité d'argent à cause de gens qu'il tient en Irlande, desquelx j'ai cy-devant escript à Votre Majesté, que ne peuvent estre au plus cinq Cens. Il y a eu ces jours Ambassad<sup>r</sup> d'escosse devers le Roy, et n'ay encoires peu entendre pour certain à quoy ilz sont venuz, il y a qui soupeçonnent que l'on leur donne quelque parole et espoir sur le mariage de la princesse, pour divertir le Roy d'Ecosse, de non traicter presentement d'alliance avec Votre Majesté ne allieurs, j'espere par le premier en escrire à Votre Majesté plus au vray.

“ Les marchands lutheriens icy detenuz dont par mes dernieres ay fait mention à Votre Majesté n'ont heu autre punition que destre mennez par certaines ruez de la cité, avec leurs mitres et escripeaux,

and placards, carrying certain books which they were obliged to burn publicly. I do not see what good has resulted from it, since it now appears, that where one spoke of such matters before, there are now a hundred who discourse of them freely and without fear.

“ Sire, a Spaniard has been here lately, sent, as he told me, by the Council of Castille, and that the people may not suppose your Majesty to have it all under your power, he gives out, that he was sent only by the ‘ Order of Mercy,’ which has craved the licence to preach in this Country the bulls of the said order ‘ for the redemption of Captives,’ and to name the King Commissioner at his pleasure, with the third part of the profit.

“ Whilst I was writing this, a good and trusty man came to tell me, that he had been informed by the protonotary of the Archbishop of Canterbury, that the King not only wished for an authentic copy of the documents

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portant ausy aucuns livres qu'ils furent contraintz brusler publicquement ; je ne scay quel fruyt a produit la d<sup>e</sup> punition, car a ce que se voit dempuys jcelle, pour ung que parloit de telles matieres auparavant, yl seu treuvent cent qu'en parlent plus liberallement et sans craincte.

“ Sire, yl est nagueres, icy venu, ung hyspagnoil, envoyé comme jl m'a dit par le Conseil de Castille, combien que affin que ces gens ne pensent que le tout apparteneit à Votre Majesté, jl donne le bruyt d'estre tant seulement envoyé de l'ordre de la merced lequel a jmptré license de pouveor icy fere prescher les Bulles du d<sup>t</sup> ordre pour la redemptions des captives, et nommera le Roy Commissaire à son appetit, et aura la tierce partie du proffit. Escrivant Cestes, une homme de Bien et de foy, m'est venu advertier comme le protonotaire de l'archevesque de Canturbery luy avoit dit que non seulement, le Roy voulait avoir Copie auctentique des instrumens dont ay

I have already referred to, but also to have them translated and verified in the English language.

"It says that the Count de Vulcheir (Earl of Wiltshire) requested him from the King, to make the said translation and to turn it to the King's advantage, by enlarging upon it wherever it might seem desirable. This and many other circumstances may enable Your Majesty to judge of their proceedings.

"I pray the Creator to prosper and preserve the sacred estate of Your Imperial Majesty. London 27th November, 1530.

From Your Majesty's very humble and  
obedient servant,

**EUSTACE CHAPUYS."**

fait mention cy dessus, mais aussy qu'il desiroit qu'ilz fussent translatez et auctentiquez en langaige anglois, et que le Conte de Vulchier l'avoit prié de la part du Roy vouloir fere la dite translation à l'avantaige et favorable pour le Roy, l'ampliant ou bon luy sembleroit, et par ce, avec plusieurs autres Cas, peust assez jugez Votre Majesté comme yl vont en besongnie.

"Je prie le Createur prosperer et conserver le très sacré Estaz de vostre jmperial Majesté. De Londres le 27<sup>e</sup> de Novembre 1530.

De votre Majesté tres humble et tres obeissant  
subjetz et Serviteur

**EUSTACE CHAPUYS."**

## CHAPUYS TO THE EMPEROR.

London 4th December, 1530.

A part of the letter is in cypher.

“ Sire,

The Bishop of Rochester has lately finished a book in favour of the Queen, which accompanies this letter, and which the Queen intreats Your Majesty to forward immediately to the Pope, and at the same time to refresh the memory of His Holiness on those points which I mentioned in my last letter to your Majesty.

“ Sire, on Tuesday the eve of St. Andrew, the Duke of Norfolk sent for the Pope's Nuncio to his house, and told him that the King had desired him to request, that he would write to the Pope on the subject of obtaining a Cardinal's hat for the *Auditor of the Chamber*. After having said this, the Duke took him apart, and gave him to understand that the King felt much sur-

## CHAPUYS A L'EMPEREUR.

4th Xbre, 1530.

“ Sire, l'Evesque de Rochestre a dernierement acchevé ung livre en faveur de la Royne le quel va avec la presente, et voudrois bien la dite Royne supplier Votre Majesté le vouloer fere incontinent envoyer au Pape, raffrechissant à sa St<sup>e</sup> la Requeste des pointz dont par mes dernieres ay fait mention à Votré Majesté.

“ Sire, Mardy veyllie de S<sup>t</sup> André, le Duc de Nolpholq appella le Nonce du Pape en son logis, et estant la arrivé jl luy dit, l'avoir fait appeller pour le prier de la part du Roy d'escrire au pape pour le Chappeaul de l'auditeur de la Chambre ; apres qu'il luy eust dit cela, jl le retira à part en sa chambre ou jl luy feit entendre comme le Roy

prise at his having received letters from the Pope, without giving him any intelligence of them, and was still more displeased at what His Holiness had said to his Ambassadors on the subject of *a last monition of excommunication*\* and expulsion of the lady from Court. He said that all this was going too far, and that on many accounts the King did not deserve to be so treated, having proved himself under all circumstances a good and obedient son of the Church, and never having done any thing with the slightest intention of displeasing his Holiness ; on which subject the Duke added other laudatory expressions.

“ The Nuncio made many apologies to the Duke, informing him that the reason he had not been to communicate his news to the King was, that he did not wish to hear any more of the abuse and threats which the King was in the habit of using towards him.

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s'esbéissoit que aiant eu lettres du Pape, qu'il ne luy en eust riens envoyé dire ; mais que encoires estoit jl plus desplesant des propos que sa Sté avoit tenu à ses Ambassadeurs sur la matiere du *reagravatoire*, et de faire vuider la Dame de Court, et que cela estoient Choses par trop etranges et que par beaucop respectz le dit Roy ne meritoit ainsy estre traicté, car quelque chose qu'il y ait eu, jl s'estoit toujours demontré très bon et très obeissant filz de l'Esglize et que riens qu'il eust fait par cy-devant, n'avoit esté en jntencion de desplaire à sa Sté ; en oultre ce, luy dit plusieurs aultres gracieux propos sur jcelle substance :—le dit Nonce, entres autres excuses qu'il feit au premier ; luy dit qu'il n'estoit allé communiquer ces nouvelles au Roy pour ce qu'il ne voulait plus ouyr les querelles et menasses que luy

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\* *Regrave*, here written *reagravatoire* is a term in Canon law signifying as above.

He said, that the Pope having heard of the King's conduct in this respect, had expressly written to instruct him (the Nuncio) that he need no longer seek to excuse or justify him to the said King, for that he (the Pope) was of opinion, that he had already favoured the King more than enough, and that it now remained for him to perform his duty to God, to his own conscience, and to his sense of justice towards the other party. With regard to the second point, the Nuncio told the Duke, that his master (the Pope) had lately written him word, that it was impossible in the face of the world to delay these matters any longer, and had said it was so essential to see justice done, that he felt himself obliged not only to attend to both the points above mentioned, but also to come to a definitive conclusion in the Queen's case.

"The Duke then thanked him very much for having disclosed the Pope's views and intentions, which had been conveyed to him in cypher; and after a repeti-

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avoit accountumé fere le Roy; et d'aillieurs que le pape entendant la dite façon de fere, luy avoit escript expressement que ne se sociat desormais de fere plus d'excuses ne justificacion vers le dit Roy, Car il pensoit s'estre en ce affere plus que souffziantement acquitté envers jcelluy Seig<sup>r</sup> Roy, et que maintenant restoit de satisfaire à Dieu, à sa Conscience, à la justice, et à l'autre partie. Touchant le second point, il luy respondit que son maistre luy avoit dernierement escrit qu'il ne pouvait en façon du monde plus delayer les afferes et qu'il estoit tant importune de faire justice, que non seulement seroit constraint de pourveoer aux deux points susmentionnés, mais aussi de fere proce-  
der à la diffinitive le dit; le mercia bien fort de ce qu'il avoit ainsy descouvert l'intention et deliberation du Pape, laquelle luy avoit été escripte en ziffré, et apres, luy avoir replicqués plusieurs gracieux pro-

tion of many courteous assurances, he begged that he would on this occasion, act the part of a good Ambassador, and not make any unpleasant report ; also that he would write that very same day by a courier whom the King was sending to the Court of France and from thence to Rome.

“ The said Duke was ready to affirm on oath, that the King was not aware either that Cardinal Scherbes had been prosecuting his affair at Rome, or that sentence had been pronounced against him at Bologna, till within the last four days. Nevertheless it is more than six weeks ago, that the King complained to the Nuncio of this very same sentence.

“ Sire, the said Nuncio is aware from the clearest evidence, that what I lately stated to your Majesty, is the fact ; namely, that mild treatment renders these people harsh, and harsh treatment renders them mild. For as long as the Pope acted graciously and mildly towards them, they braved and menaced him in the

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poz, jl pria le dit Nonce qu'il voulust en ce endroit fere l'office de bon Ambassadeur et ne fere rapport facheux, et qu'il voulait escrire de ce jour mesme par le Courrier que le Roy envoyoit en Court de France, et dois là à Rome, le dit Duc ousa bien affermer par son serment que le Roy n'avoit jamais sceu que le Cardinal de scherbes eust sollicité son affere en Rome, ne aussi du bref que fut decerné contre luy à Bologne synon dempuis quatre jours en ça ; Et toutes-fois yl y a plus de six sepmaines que le Roy se plaignoit au dit Nonce d'jcelluy Bref.

“ Sire, le dit Nonce cognoit par clere et manifeste evidence, estre vraye ce qu'ay par cy-devant escript à Votre Majesté que la douleur esgrit ces gens, et l'aigreur les adoulcit ; car cependant que le Pape a usé dé gracieuseté envers eux, ilz l'ont menassé et bravé le plus fort

most outrageous manner, but now that His Holiness has begun to tighten the reins, they have become as humble and mild as possible. On this account the Nuncio now writes to His Holiness more forcibly than he ever ventured to do before, and tells him that in order to maintain his authority here and for divers other reasons, he should forthwith bring the business of the Queen to a final conclusion.

“ His letters accompany the present one, and I pray your Majesty to forward them with the book already mentioned, and if your Majesty would be pleased to enforce their object by your influence with His Holiness, as I before urged, it would be of greater service and more seasonable now than ever, as the business is in a more forward stage.

“ Sire, the Cardinal of York died on St. Andrew's day, about forty miles from hence, at the place where the last King Richard was defeated and killed ; they

du monde, maintenant que sa St<sup>e</sup> a commencé leur tenir la bride royde, ilz sont devenuz les plus humbles et simples du monde. A ceste cause jl escrit plus hardiment à sa d<sup>e</sup> St<sup>e</sup> qu'il n'avoit ousé par cy-devant que, jcelluy doit pour la conservation de son auctorité ycy, et par plusieurs autres respectz, fere incontinent diffinir l'affere de la Royne :—ses lettres vont avec la presente, jl playra à Votre Majesté commander qu'elles soient envoyées avec le livre mentionné au commencement de Ceste. Et s'il plaisoit à Votre Majesté fayre un rencharge à sa St<sup>e</sup> comme j'ai dessous touché, elle seroit de plus grande efficace et plus en sayson qu'elle n'eust esté ci devant car la matiere se trouvera mieux disposée.

“ Sire, le Cardinal d'Yorc trèspassat le jour S<sup>t</sup>. André, à quarante mille d'icy, au lieu ou fust desconfust et occis le dernier Roy

are both buried in the same Church which people already begin to call *the tyrant's sepulchre*.\*

" There are many different reports as to the cause of his death. On his arrest he for several days refused to take any nourishment, and since then, it is said that he either *took*, or *was given* something to hasten his end. On Monday, the Captain of the guard arrived to conduct him hither; and they supped together with apparent relish. Very soon afterwards the Cardinal was taken so ill, that they did not think he could have outlived the night. He lingered however till Wednesday, and prepared for his end like a good Christian. At the time of receiving the holy sacrament he protested that he had never undertaken any thing to his Sovereign's prejudice. Since his death the Court has

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Richart, et gissent tous deux en une mesme Eglise laquelle l'on commence desja appeller la sepulture de Tyrans :—de la Cause de sa mort se parle en diverses sortes, au commandement de sa prinse il demoura quelques jours qu'il ne vouloit rien manger, dempuys à ce l'on dit, ou que l'on luy a donne, ou' qu'il aprins quelque chose pour haster ses jours. Le Lundy le Cap<sup>ne</sup> de la garde arriva devers luy pour l'ammener icy, il souperent ensemble faisans assez bonne Ch<sup>re</sup>, bientost après, le dit Cardinal se trouva si travaillie que l'on pensa tout du long de la nuyt qu'il deust expirer, toutesfois il vesquit jusques au mercredy et soy ordonna en bon Chrestien, protestant toujours au temps de la Reception du Sacrement, n'avoir en rien mesprins contre son Prince,—puys son dit trespass la Court a esté tresfort embesongné, si n'a l'on toutes fois

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\* Cardinal Wolsey was buried in the Gray Friar's Church at Leicester, where Richard III. had been interred after the battle of Bosworth.

been very busy, but his benefices have not yet been disposed of, and it is said that the King will retain them some time longer for his own use.

“ Sire, I pray God to grant long life and prosperity to your Imperial Majesty.

From your Majesty’s most humble and obedient  
Servant and Subject

EUSTACE CHAPUYS.”

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encoures pourvehu de ses Benefices, et se croit que le Roy en fera son prouffit par quelque temps.

“ Sire, je prie Dieu donner en toute prosperité à Votre Imperiale Majesté très bonne et longue vie. De Londres le 4<sup>e</sup> Décembre 1530.

De Votre Majestè tres humble et très obeissant  
subietz et Serviteur

EUSTACE CHAPUYS.



## PART THE THIRD.

Characteristic Notices of the Emperor Charles the Fifth and some of his distinguished Contemporaries ; gathered chiefly, from works of Baron Hormayr, written when he was Director of the Imperial Family Archives at Vienna ; and from other authentic documents.

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### CHARLES THE FIFTH.

CHARLES's boyhood and early youth were passed under the influence and control of William of Croy Lord of Chievres, a man in whom, it was said were united the dark features only, of the two principal nations, which Charles was destined to govern. He had all the repulsiveness of the most haughty Castilian, and the narrow mercantile spirit of the Netherlander. This stern and severe governor, from long habit, well tried faith, and thorough knowledge of the

interests of his own country, had established so powerful a dominion over the mind of the young prince, that he abated little of his surly schoolmaster tone, even when Charles had become King of Spain and Emperor.

Chievres however, when sent officially to Castille, suddenly disappointed the confidence which had been placed in his sagacity. After the fashion of narrow minded politicians he took in no grand and comprehensive views. He had been accustomed to look upon Spain as a province of the Netherlands, and whilst he exhibited in his administration the most intolerable avarice, he contrived to fill the young king, then only seventeen years of age, with a suspicious aversion to this proud nation. The great Zimenes was not even allowed an interview with the youthful sovereign, who had been so much indebted to him for the safety of his kingdom, and sunk under the pain of finding himself misunderstood, and sacrificed. Chievres had indeed carried things so far, as to make Charles generally looked upon as a poor creature, weak and unwarlike. How great then was the surprize, when at the death of this minister, which happened in good time, the Emperor shewed himself to be full of reflexion, resolute and intrepid. The more thoughtful of his subjects had foreseen these qualities, when as a youth of eighteen, in a tournament at Valladolid, he displayed all the dexterity of a warrior, who had grown grey under the helmet. His shield was on this occasion without emblazonment, a smooth-white surface, on

which was seen this remarkable device “*Nondum*”\* (not yet). From this time his capacity for government became developed. With his own hand he began to design his most important plans, and to write letters to the Sovereigns of Europe with as much dispatch as thoughtfulness. In these letters may be observed a self-possession and fearlessness, with such decision of language, as prove him either too proud to dissemble, or too confident of success to conceal his intentions. Perhaps the thraldom he had experienced, made him afterwards so watchful of the independence of his power, that he appointed no High Chancellor after Gattinara’s death, and held no council of State. He laboured himself in Spanish affairs with Francis de los Covos Grand Commendador of Leon; and in the German, Burgundian, and foreign departments with the two Granvelles successively, father and son.

Charles, though cold and reserved, was accessible. He gave frequent and long audiences; and tried with laudable patience to refuse unworthy claimants, with gentleness rather than authority.

Notwithstanding his gravity, he could assume popular and obliging manners, which gained the favourable impression of those who on these occasions approached him, without in the least detracting from his dignity.

His many encroachments on the constitution of the Netherlands were passed by without opposition, because he knew how to flatter the vanity of the people

\* The grand device which marked his pretensions and rising fame “*Plus Ultra*” was afterwards assumed.

by public demonstrations of his favour. He would speak their language, and by visits and civilities to popular leaders, would draw attention to his wishes; filling at the same time Brussels with Spanish soldiers, but avoiding the introduction of Spanish customs and Spanish etiquette. In what a number of his letters, it may be observed, has he admonished his Ministers and Generals rather to choose the middle path, and to employ gentleness as long as possible, in preference to harsh measures !

In person, Charles was neither tall nor otherwise, but of a moderate height, large boned, and rather stout than thin, but of a delicate constitution. His forehead was broad and very high over the temples, his cheek bones prominent, and his nose slightly bent sideways. His clear blue eyes appeared immovable, from an habitually fixed gaze either strait forward, or up in the air, or at those he addressed, or in some other direction, but never changing. He kept his mouth with its prominent under lip\* half open. His hair was light,

\* The thick nether lip of the Austrian family from the authority of a member of the present reigning family is said to have been derived from a Polish Princess Cymburgis married to Earnest *the Iron* (Father to Frederic the 4th) and consequently grandmother to Maximilian the 1st. "Notwithstanding her beauty and accomplishments" says archdeacon Coxe, "she was endowed with a masculine strength which rendered her a fit companion for her adamantine husband. She could crack nuts with her fingers, and with her hand drive a nail as far as others with a hammer." Brantôme gives a different version of the origin of the Austrian under lip. Speaking of the Queen of Hungary Charles's sister and governess of the Netherlands after the

his beard short and curly, his movements measured and decided, almost slow, as well as his manner of speaking. There was more in Charles than his appearance promised. No heart spoke from his features. There was nothing of the uneasy activity, and overflowing goodness, and honesty of the old Hapsburgers ; but incessant reflection, tendency to depression, Spanish gravity, obstinacy, severity.

In his boyhood, a portrait of him was taken by Lucas Cranach ; and as Emperor he sat three times to Titian ; but from no one else was he willing that his likeness should be handed down to posterity. The engraving introduced as a frontispiece to this volume is from an accurate copy of a sketch of this great

death of their Aunt Margaret of Savoy, and describing her beauty, he remarks that there was not the smallest drawback to this, unless it were her large and prominent under lip *a la mode d'Autriche*. This he goes on to say, was not derived from the house of Austria, but from that of Burgundy, as he had heard from a lady of the Court that Queen Eleanora when once passing by Dijon, on her way to pay her devotions at the monastery of the Chartreux, there visited the venerable sepulchres of her ancestors, the Dukes of Burgundy, which she had the curiosity to see opened. Several of the bodies appeared so entire and well preserved, that she could recognize the features ; and amongst these the advancing form of the underjaw and lip. “ Ha,” exclaimed the Queen, “ I always thought our mouths were derived from those of Austria, but I now perceive them to be inherited from Mary of Burgundy and her progenitors.” The Queen it is related, took pleasure in this idea, which Brantôme highly approves, as the House of Burgundy was far superior he observes, to that of Austria, being descended from a son of France, Philip the hardy.

master painted from life at Bologna at the time of the Emperor's coronation as Emperor of the Romans and King of Lombardy, now in the Imperial collection at the Lower Belvidere, Vienna.

Charles's temperament was unquestionably phlegmatic, and melancholy. The self love and power of dissimulation possessed by his maternal Grandfather Ferdinand, the depression amounting to insanity of his mother Johanna, the nobleness of mind of his Grandfather Maximilian and of his Father Philip were the groundworks of his character. In the early part of his life he had had several epileptic fits which afterwards gave place to lengthy and painful attacks of gout, bringing on occasional lamenesses in his hands and neck.

His private life in reference to his unceasing labours was exactly such as to aggravate his naturally not happy temperament, to cherish its imperfections, and to prevent his best qualities from being duly brought forward.

Strong sense was the characteristic property of his mind. He was not quick of apprehension, but he remembered every thing. As soon as he had fairly seized an idea, it became enriched and ennobled by his own conception and handling of it, as a skilful artist may be said to immortalise a block of marble. His habit was to ponder long upon a subject; but when he had once formed his opinion, he would maintain it with a firmness bordering on obstinacy. He was not easily moved; and he examined every thing

with a keen calm look, and close suspicion. Passionate anger was unknown to him ; but offences, which could not extract a change of countenance, were treasured up in his bosom, and sometimes after a lapse of years fearfully avenged. He distributed both rewards and punishments carefully and without bias ; but often with too much deliberation.

His good and generous deeds were performed with the same unmoved look and manner, which he could preserve, when called upon to sign a death warrant ; and this he considered proper to Majesty. He never used force, until patience and subtilty had failed ; and in dispensing punishment he was inclined rather to moderate than to extreme measures. It was by an act of clemency after the rebellion in Castille, that scarcely twenty persons suffered the penalty of their crimes. Eighty were excepted in the pardon he published ; and these rather with a view to intimidation than from any intention to arrest them. When an officious courtier offered to inform him of the retreat of one of the most considerable ; “ you had much better,” said the Emperor, “ let him know that I am here, than tell me where he is.”

There was that in Charles which created respect at first sight, and admiration on further acquaintance ; but he required to be known intimately, before any one could love him. He was almost inaccessible to the play of fancy. His power of self control was never failing. To win a secret from him was impossible.

Two sure indications of a strong mind were ob-

servable in the Emperor; one indeed not frequently put to the test among princes. He could bear to be spoken to on the subject of his faults with the utmost freedom; and he had no jealousy of the renown acquired by his statesmen and warriors. Beaurain, one of his most devoted ministers, was never backward to avail himself of this permission, in his honest endeavours to set his master right, where he thought him wrong. During the military movements in the spring of 1524, he laid before the Emperor his own views of the Campaign, and pointing out all the faults which had been committed, observed in allusion to a certain slowness which has been noticed, "that many a good thing was lost by pondering upon it too long; but to reflect well on what was past, was the best way to prevent errors in future." When the command in Italy was divided between Bourbon and Pescara, this trusty statesman being asked what he thought of it, shortly replied, "you will never find it good, Sire, to have two leaders in one army."

That Charles not only courted advice from those on whose judgment his own penetration and sagacity taught him to rely, but generally acted upon it, may be inferred from the long rule maintained over his counsels by the two Granvelles, father and son. In spiritual matters, or rather in the adoption and management of all measures in which the interest of the Romish Church was concerned, the Emperor had his advisers among the Clergy in whom he placed great reliance, and whom in most things he is supposed to have implicitly obeyed.

Garcia de Loaysa Cardinal and Bishop of Osma, afterwards of Siguenza, and eventually Grand Inquisitor, was the Emperor's confessor, and one most high in his confidence. When Charles left Spain to meet Clement the Seventh at Bologna, in 1529, the Bishop of Osma attended him. After the conference with the Pope, the Emperor proceeded into Germany, leaving his Confessor to look after his interests at Rome. Some court intrigue is supposed to have been the cause of this temporary separation ; but whatever might have been the occasion of it, we are indebted to this circumstance for a collection of most interesting and spirited letters\* addressed to the Emperor by this, his most intimate spiritual adviser, during a period of two years (1530 to 1532) until Charles's return into Italy.

The following was written about the time of the Emperor's arrival to open the Diet at Augsбурgh. It manifests throughout a bold and uncompromising spirit of zeal on the part of the Confessor, which claims our respect, leaving at the same time an impression far from unfavourable to the august personage addressed, who could permit in these communications such an unrestrained tone of admonition and reproof. In one particular where the appointment to a Bishopric is recommended, a piece of advice is urged savouring too much of a principle never acknowledged in words, though often and most culpably acted upon in practice, that

\*They were found in the Spanish national archives at Simancas, and published in a German version at Berlin in 1848.

"the end justifies the means." The letter is dated from Rome, Ascension day, 1530.

"Imperial Catholic Majesty,

"It is my ardent desire that Your Majesty should be often sensible of my loss, and should regret my causeless dismissal from your presence. Yet, I pray God, that you may not really have been in want of me, either as regards worldly matters, or for the good of your soul. In this case, I am content to suffer my unjust banishment patiently; and if my absence from Your Majesty should through any means be made up to me by your perseverance in the right way, my punishment will be converted into an occasion of rejoicing.

"Sire! nothing in this life is so important to you at the present juncture, as that Your Majesty should come out triumphantly from this affair in Germany. If God vouchsafe to grant, that you may be the means of rescuing that nation from the heresy which pervades it, Italy will exalt you as the highest and best of earthly Princes. Doubtless Your Majesty would then deserve the name of the most fortunate Emperor ever known in Christendom: and I am persuaded that should this occur, as I trust it will, Your Majesty may be assured that all further attempts in the same right course will be crowned with unprecedented success. To this end I venture to entreat Your Majesty, should this evil not be overcome by force of arms, that you hesitate not to make every pecuniary sacrifice for the faith. Offer up all you have carefully laid in store for public uses, and

such as you would willingly retain in your private coffers. Your merit will thus be the greater ; and whatever you expend in this sacred cause, will be repaid with usury not only in the world to come but in this also ; where Your Majesty will be held in paramount honour and consideration, and have your stores replenished with showers of golden ducats, and all worldly riches. Had I a thousand lives, Sire, I would venture them on the truth of this assertion.

“ Your Majesty once told me, that it was your most earnest wish to devote your life to the defence of the Faith, as your only way of proving your gratitude to God, for the innumerable blessings he has heaped upon you.

“ Sire ! Now is the time to show whether these words were hypocritical and false, or whether they were spoken from the heart : and the more so, as God does not now require your life as a sacrifice, but zeal, activity and your worldly goods, which latter, in comparison with the advantage to be reaped, ought to be deemed utterly worthless.

“ Give not a thought, Sire, to your amusements, and do not lose courage in contemplation of the trouble which may be expected ; and which will certainly not be less, than what you have just encountered at Bologna. Consider, Sire, that no crown was ever won, nor any glory ever obtained by sloth, by luxurious living, or by any indulgence in vice or pleasure.

“ There are in Your Imperial Majesty two antagonist principles — indolence and ambition, which have always

had a hard fight for supremacy. Hitherto in Italy, the latter has had the ascendant ; and I trust it will be the same in Germany ; and that by the grace of God, your love of honour and renown will triumph over the natural enemy within, which inclines you to feasting, and to wasting the best portion of your life in riot and debauchery.

“ Sire ! It is here reported that the Archbispopric of Taragona is vacant. If so I would advise Your Majesty for the sake of your own conscience to give it to the Bishop of Barcelona. Should it however occur, that any person of consideration in Germany, might by this means be induced to become a convert to the Holy Faith, you must not hesitate in bestowing it upon him, even should he be a stranger and living at a distance.

“ Apart from so important a consideration, I would pray Your Majesty on no account to choose a pastor for the care of souls, who must be absent from his diocese ; for I here warn you that this is a great offence in the sight of God : and since you would avoid eternal condemnation on your own account, it would be little worth while to incur punishment for the faults of others.

“ And further on this subject, I would pray Your Majesty never to entrust an office of this kind to a very young man, however virtuous he may appear : for disappointment often follows, and Your Majesty would find reason to repent, when it was too late to remedy the evil. An Archbishop should be one, who for a long course of years has been accustomed *to dip his beard in*

*the chalice*, and to set the example of every virtue in his life and conversation.

“ Should Your Majesty follow these rules, you will not be led into any error which God will lay to your charge ; but if otherwise, you have to answer for the disorders which may arise, be your intentions ever so pure.

“ I informed Your Majesty in my last letter how truly you may consider the Pope your friend ; and I was further confirmed in this impression, when he read to me a letter of which the Secretary Covos can give an account. It is plain that his friendship is sincere and cordial, very different from the empty compliments he used before. I pray Your Majesty to cultivate it diligently at whatever cost, for be that what it may, it cannot but be considered cheap in the end. This I write as a true servant of God, and of Your Majesty. Cursed indeed be any self interest, which could tempt me to utter such sentiments for my own sake.

“ As I was one day conversing with his Holiness, I observed that it was not improbable that Your Majesty would visit Naples before returning to Spain. He replied with evident pleasure, and without a moment’s reflection, ‘ would to God it might be so.’ This he uttered with so much animation, that hand and foot, and the whole body seemed to concur in the wish. I have remarked by many little signs that his affection to Your Majesty is sincere.

“ Sire ! I call to mind that Your Majesty commanded me to write to you just as usual. I will obey your orders,

until I discover that such is no longer your wish. God knows that I could not make so constant and unbounded an use of this privilege, were it not for my irrepressible desire of seeing Your Majesty distinguished above all Princes that ever existed, for superior virtues, valour and prosperity.

“I pray the everlasting goodness of God to grant this wish, and to allow us your servants to rejoice and glory in your temporal and eternal welfare.”

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Contarini, the Venetian Ambassador at the Court of the Emperor in the customary “*Relatione*” concerning his mission, says in speaking of the Cardinal of Osma, writer of the foregoing, that nobody possessed any real influence over the Emperor, save his confessor, and even he was required to state his opinion modestly and to support it with substantial reasoning. Ranke also observes upon this remark of Contarini; that it was true the Confessor might boast of influencing the Emperor’s feelings in his most private and perhaps most important moments.

On the subject of plain speaking, there is, it may be here noticed, a curious provision in the rules of the noble order of the Golden Fleece, founded in the year 1430, by Philip the good, Duke of Burgundy. Amongst its high privileges, the reciprocal right was vested in its Knights, of pointing out each others faults, as well as of censuring the morals and manners of the age.

The Sovereign of the land, and head of the order was on these occasions as freely handled as others. At the

chapter held in 1468, the assembled Knights addressed Charles the Bold to this effect ; “that he occasionally used language too harsh towards his servants, and forgot himself at times even when speaking of princes.” They requested him also most humbly, to keep his promises for the future more faithfully, and not to involve his people in inconsiderate wars. At the general chapter of 1531 the Emperor had to undergo the same ordeal. After a flattering prologue concerning Charles’s great qualities, the Chancellor of the Order nevertheless pronounced this censure ; “that he was slow in his transactions of business ; and whilst he was too careful of minor details, the most important matters did not always receive sufficient attention ; that he did not always fill the Courts of Justice with the most able persons, and that his army and civil officers were badly paid.”

There was probably much truth in this, and possibly the Emperor might have benefited by a rebuke from such an authority. He seems indeed from several instances recorded, to have been kind and considerate towards those whom he employed, and to have been quite ready to recompence any extraordinary service with a proportionate reward. One of the great difficulties in negotiating the treaty of Madrid, which set the King of France at liberty, were the arrangements in favour of the Duke of Bourbon, whose interests Charles deemed himself in justice bound to secure. As an instance of his feeling towards an old friend and servant, it may be mentioned that when the Emperor went to Bologna, Antonio da

Leyva, then grown old, had himself conveyed to Placentia in order to meet him. As Frederic of Prussia in after times behaved to his Ziethen, so did Charles oblige Leyva to sit in the arm chair, whilst he stood before him, and in spite of remonstrances insisted on his being covered. "What," said the Emperor, "shall the Grandees of Spain surround my throne with their hats on, whilst the veteran of seventy years, who has faced sixty battles for his lord, stand before me a man of thirty, bare headed : I cannot do less than distinguish merit here, in the same manner that inherited titles are honoured there."

In the grand ceremonial of the procession at Bologna, Leyva, suffering from his usual infirmity, was borne in a chair covered with cloth of gold, by the Emperor's appointment next to Andrea Doria, before the Archbishops and Bishops, and his horse was led by two noblemen.\*

\* Brantôme gives the following account of the procession at the Emperor's coronation. "Four thousand Spanish soldiers, veterans who had served in the late wars, marched at the head of it under the command of Antonio da Leyva richly dressed, borne in a sort of chair covered with crimson velvet. Afterwards came eighteen pieces of heavy artillery with their ammunition waggons and all their accompaniments, followed by a thousand men at arms of the old equipment of Burgundy, all well mounted and cased in armour, over which hung their beautiful and rich mantles, with lances at the thigh. Then came the Pages of the Emperor which might be about four and twenty in number superbly clothed, in yellow grey and violet colored velvet, mounted on beautiful horses, some genets, and others of a less pure breed. These were followed by the Grand Ecuyer of the Emperor in steel armour, bearing in his right hand the sword of state (*l'Estocq*) of his Imperial Majesty. After him

A like feeling actuated Charles on another occasion, when during some festivities at the Court of Madrid, a tournament was held, at which certain Grandees had given each other the word to exclude from their party a young man who had lately been raised to the class of nobility, on account of his services. On this being reported to the Emperor, when the officer in question appeared in the lists, Charles coolly remarked to the Master of the Horse ; “ let no man deprive me of this

rode the Emperor mounted on the most beautiful Spanish genet, a dark bay, clad in the richest armour inlaid with gold, over which was a mantle of Cloth of Gold, leaving one side and the right arm exposed ; on his head he wore a bonnet of black velvet without ornament or plume (panache). The Cardinals came after him with their large hats on. These were followed by some of the principal Nobles of the Court heading a troop of four or five hundred gentlemen, the one more brave and more nobly armed and mounted than the other. To these again succeeded fifteen hundred light horse, and men at arms all accoutred with (*Bourquinettes*) their proper helmets. Three thousand men on foot, Spaniards, Italians, and Lansknechts formed the rear guard.

This, adds Brantôme, was a procession—“ fit for a great Emperor, enough to make the Earth tremble, as well as the Heaven itself, when the artillery began to roar with the devil of a noise, which Don Antonio da Leyva knew well how to play off, with discharges of the Arquebusades re-echoing from the whole line of Soldiers.”

He afterwards touches on the ceremonial observed between the Pope and Emperor, on the latter performing his act of submission or homage. “ When they approach each other, the Emperor sinking on his knees kissed the feet of the Pope, and rising kissed his hand. His Holiness on his part, whilst some of the attendants behind raised the mitre from his head, kissed the Emperor’s cheek. This done, the Emperor was again on his knees, when the Pope making a gracious gesture begged him to rise. One of the atten-

young knight ; I have selected him to be of my own quadrille." Charles was remarkable for his graceful horsemanship. He rode, when fully armed, with so much majesty, and managed his horse so gallantly, that no more accomplished knight, observes Mexia in the Imperial history, could any where be found.

It is paradoxically asserted by Hormayr that Charles was no despot ; that he was peaceful by nature, and that his wars were never undertaken for the sake of fighting, nor for the occupation of his people, nor for the lust of conquest. They were not wars, he considers, of an individual for personal aggrandizement, or for the subjugation of nations ; but simply and solely, for repelling foreign invasion, and for the support and preservation of that, which his father and grandfather had won. With the exception of Wittemberg, which was willingly conceded to him in his German wars, he never conquered a single acre of territory. On the contrary, he remarks, he had given up part of his birth-right ;

dants then drawing a piece of gold from a pocket in the Imperial mantle, placed it in his Majesty's hand, of which the Emperor made an offering to the Pope as a representative of his power and thus addressed him ; ' Holy Father thanks be to God above, who has conceded to me so great a favour, that I should arrive in safety here to kiss the feet of Your Holiness, and to be received with greater kindness than I can ever merit, and thus I place myself under your safeguard.'

' Holy and crafty words these,' says Brantôme, ' and what a safeguard.' It is much like that of the wolf in the fable, who pretended to have been sorely hunted, and came in fear to ask the safeguard of his dear cousin Madame the Goat ; and after that, ate her up."

and had let his brother Ferdinand take possession not only of the Austrian States, but also of the Tyrol, notwithstanding its importance to him in the Italian wars. In this latter respect, it is observed that a change came over him after the battle of Muhlberg, but still it is maintained by this writer, that he was not more ambitious. After the League of Smalcaldè, and from the commencement of the wars of religion, all Charles' energies were certainly devoted to the grand object of putting down Protestantism, as well as all the princes who supported it ; but if there were no personal ambition in this, his utter contempt for the civil rights of the people shewn early in the affairs of Spain and the Netherlands, and the violence with which he afterwards in the empire resisted and punished all efforts to oppose his arbitrary will, can hardly exempt him from the charge of despotism, be the motive of his conduct, what it might. Whatever may have been Charles' natural disposition for, or against war, he knew how to become a Captain and a leader, and at times could exhibit bursts of greatness and excellence, which raised him to a level among the best and wisest. To command his army, Charles wished for an Italian head, a Spanish arm, and a German heart ; "*myself and the lucky moment*" was nevertheless a favourite expression.

But life is not a detached moment, and the life of a powerful ruler is the most stirring of lives. To be great, it must be a whole, working on, in unity and perseverance, which will and must, whatever the dif-

ference of time and occasion and place, be kept together by firmness of purpose and singleness of aim, till the part of the hero is sustained in all its completeness. Single detached portions played with skill and genius only throw the unlucky scenes into deeper shadow. The absence of one quality to which Charles seemed utterly insensible, excludes him from the praise of such a character; generosity of soul. His want of it is lamentably exhibited in his early as in his declining years; in his conduct towards the King of France when in his power; under similar circumstances in his unworthy treatment of the Elector of Saxony; and in his still baser behaviour towards the Landgrave of Hesse.

Charles' cool unshaken courage is admitted by all. He was never known to change colour but once, and that was at Algiers, when he beheld his fifteen ships of war, his one hundred and forty transports with eight thousand men on board, his ammunition, provisions and stores of war a prey to the raging elements. The Emperor then looked on in mute anguish and astonishment. But his fortitude and presence of mind never abandoned him in his subsequent enterprizes and calamitous retreat. He was himself among the first to carry help to the wounded, to inspire the timid with courage, to comfort the sick of the plague, whom the Physicians had given up, to distribute among the troops such roots as could be found affording nourishment, and was himself the last to satisfy his own hunger. With a scanty rear-guard he protected the

retreat and embarkation ; and when entreated to take care of his own life amidst a shower of balls and darts, he smiled and said ; “ an Emperor was never yet known to be shot.” During the march, on his previous brilliant exploit at Tunis, from the widely spread disunion amongst his Generals, Charles had reason to suspect a wilful abandonment of some important posts, and perhaps even a traitorous understanding with the enemy. With almost too rash a daring, he went himself during a dark night to visit them, and tried the fidelity of the sentinels, until they fired upon him. The Emperor then made himself known, and rewarded them regally.

There is a characteristic anecdote related of him in an occurrence at the battle of Muhlberg. The Duke of Alva having discovered the ford across the Elbe, through the exertions of twelve Spaniards, who made their way over the stream with their swords between their teeth, pressed furiously on with the whole of his cavalry against the enemy on the opposite side. Charles suffering from gout, his neck and feet partly disabled by the disease, caused himself to be bound upon his horse, and rushed towards the point where he perceived the thickest fire. On his way he saw a crucifix, lying mutilated by the wanton impiety of some of the enemies’ soldiers. He suddenly stopped, and cried out with animated looks to the Spaniards of rank who surrounded him, in the words of the Psalm ; “ Exurge Domine, et judica causam tuam.”

The Emperor’s personal share in the achievement

of this great victory established his military reputation ; and his saying to his assembled Generals after it, (an improvement on that of the first Cæsar,) is recorded to his credit ; “ *I came, I saw, and God has granted us the victory.*”

Charles loved fame, but only when the voice of conscience allowed that he had earned a title to it. Nothing was more distasteful to him, than any vain praise uttered in his presence.

He had the same affection for Thucidydes, as Alexander had for Aristotle. A translation of this historian was an usual accompaniment under his pillow. He loved history, because he wished to live in its pages ; but the idea to him was intolerable that flattery might by its representations render history unfaithful. It is to be regretted that Charles himself, though he sketched some memoranda of his daily business in the state, has left no other record of his life, rich and eventful as it was in subjects of such deep and general interest. It is well known that the learned Malinèe had from the best sources of information written his biography. Philip his son was aware of this, and kept a watchful eye over the writer. On Charles’s death it is asserted, that he charged Granvelle to seize the manuscript and to burn it. Charles had a poor opinion of the historians of his day. Speaking once of Paulus Jovius and Sleidan, “ they are both liars,” said the Emperor angrily, “ one praises and the other blames me too much, on both sides more than I deserve.” He had commanded Sepulveda always to refer to him-

self any doubts which might arise about events connected with his life; and on these occasions he invariably replied with such religious observance of truth, as if he had been before the confessional. This historian heard on one occasion from a young and very credible person, who possessed in a high degree the confidence of the Emperor, a circumstance which placed his character in the brightest light; not contented with this single authority, Sepulveda made some enquiries of the Emperor himself, relative to the matter. Charles replied that he knew nothing whatever of it; but after a little reflexion, an incident occurred to him, in which the anecdote in question might have had its rise. Sepulveda now ventured to tell the Emperor, that he thought by an application to some of his Majesty's advisers, he might arrive at the truth he was seeking. But Charles apprehensive that such authorities might be disposed to flatter, "give up," he said, "any further enquiries; invention has been at work here."

A similar feeling against the errors and misrepresentations incident to history made him refuse to read Sepulveda's book. The historian thought by laying his work before the Emperor, and hearing his remarks upon what was inaccurate, to avoid giving trouble by his questions. "No," was the reply, "I will not read or hear what is written of me; others may when I have left this life." This great ruler understood the human heart. He knew that its judgments of the deeds, and its opinions of men are apt to be influenced by hope and

fear. He bade history pronounce upon him only, when there was nothing more to be hoped, and nothing to be feared from him.

The same straightforward and manly way of viewing personal dignity and worth, guided Charles in like manner towards Paulus Jovius. This man, with no less spirit than eloquence, wrote a history of his time. He thought because Charles bore the most prominent part in his work, that he had rendered himself of some importance in the Imperial consideration ; and with this idea hurried off to Bologna during his Majesty's visit to that place for the coronation. He came in the suite of Alexander of Medicis, afterwards the Emperor's son-in-law, in whose family he was much esteemed for his lively conversation and wit. Charles nevertheless refused to order any present to be made to him. Jovius took this very ill ; and whilst, in his writings he had highly extolled the Emperor's economy as one of his greatest virtues, he now in private gave contradiction to this statement, and complained bitterly that the ruler of worlds could not bring himself to vouchsafe him so much as the offering of a lame mule. Some of these stories were reported to the Emperor. " Singular," he said, " because this man writes a history of his times, that he should promise himself any present from me ; foolish fellow ! why it is the very reason why he should not expect favour from me of any kind."

All this is told to us by Sepulveda who manifests in his history of the Emperor such love of truth, and so strict and impartial a judgment when Princes are con-

cerned, that we safely rely on what he relates. And in general there is to be observed among the Spanish historians, especially among such as were Royal Biographers, a certain dryness and honesty which may put the writers of some other nations to the blush. They seem to have little studied or understood the world at large; but like the rest of the Spanish nation may be said, neither to be concerned, nor interested about any other people, than themselves. And it never seemed to occur to their thoughts to represent themselves otherwise than as they really were.

Christian Nasseus of Cambray, a teacher at Ghent, wrote the history of his time up to 1540, and giving way in this work to his feelings as a Netherlander, and not a little as a hanger on and flatterer of the Court, represented the French King, the Emperor's most obstinate enemy, in the harshest colours. Francis, sensitive and irritable as he was thoughtless, made bitter complaints on the subject. The work was accordingly suppressed; and Charles ordered the author of it into his presence. "Wherefore," he thus addressed him, "are you, good men of letters, so little susceptible of shame, as always to be fostering and inflaming the feelings of jealousy and hatred in the hearts of us Princes? Wait at least till we are dead, and then write whatever you please; for avarice, party feeling, and other passions will no longer draw a veil over your eyes; and it is only when purified of these, that history will be real history, and fit to live for posterity."

Nevertheless Charles sought anxiously to assemble

about him the most distinguished men of his day ; and vied in this with the Courts of England, France, Florence, and Rome. In the sentiment of the poet, he knew, “that the Prince who neglects to rally talents about him, is a general without an army.” One day he went to visit Augustin Niphus of Sessa, in the Neapolitan States, conspicuous no less for his acuteness of mind, than for his eccentricities, who with the cynical boldness of a Diogenes had refused to visit the Emperor, on his request to see him. In the study of Niphus’s house, there was but one solitary seat. The philosopher was occupying it, when the Emperor appeared ; and without rising thus addressed him, “You are powerful enough to have caused a chair to be brought here for you ; know, Sire, that I am Emperor in Parnassus, as you are in Court and Camp.”

When the Emperor was at Rome during this Italian progress a singular and somewhat dangerous dialogue occurred, whilst he was standing in sole company with a Roman knight at the top of the Pantheon. The idea of Erostratus, who could perpetuate his memory in no better way than by setting fire to the temple of Diana at Ephesus, was probably running in this knight’s head, when he thus addressed the Emperor ; “Most gracious Sire, more than once on this present occasion, has the desire possessed me, to make a lasting name for myself by encircling you with a strong arm, and casting myself down with you to the bottom.” Charles, without any change of tone or look, replied with his never failing composure, “if this be the case, Sir, lest such a desire

should ever take possession of you again, be pleased to quit my presence, and never seek to approach me more."

Charles though ready, as has been observed, to reward his servants handsomely, was never very willing to expend money. He is said to have considered long, before he could make up his mind to lay out a hundred ducats ; but when he had once been brought to this small outlay, and to open his purse-strings, it was no difficult matter to prevail on him to disburse thousands. In most of his personal expenses, as well as in his habits in general he was simple and economical. In one however, his table, he indulged to an extraordinary degree. To the world he was a stoic, but in this respect, to himself an epicurean, he liked everything that tended to allure the appetite, and to keep the nerves on the stretch ; and this even in early years, as would appear from many remonstrances on this subject in the letters of his Confessor already quoted. In one from Rome dated 20th Dec., 1530 is the following passage ; " Sire, I entreat Your Majesty not to eat of those dishes which are injurious to you ; all the world knows that fish disagrees with your chest ; for God's sake remember that your life is not your own, but should be preserved for the sake of others. If Your Majesty chooses to destroy your own property, you should not endanger what belongs to us.

" Be assured, that I write in much distress, for I am informed that *your chest is sometimes heard further off than your tongue* (meaning that he coughs more than

he speaks). I once wished Your Majesty to do some penance for old sins ; if you will change this injunction into a firm resistance against gluttony, it will be to you as meritorious as flint and scourge. May God strengthen Your Majesty, according his grace, and bless you in spiritual and temporal matters : Amen."

The earnestness of the Cardinal's admonitions on this head will be perceived by his thus adverting to the same subject in a letter to the Grand Commendador Covos sent by the same courier. " It grieves me to the soul, when I think of the Emperor's passing through towns infested with the plague. It will be well that you should advise him to abstain from everything hurtful. Intreat him to be careful in his diet, and to eat wholesome instead of high seasoned food, especially to avoid fish in every way, which is so bad for him."

From long custom to strong stimulants in his diet, his palate at last lost all sensitiveness of taste. Towards the concluding years of his public life, he is said to have once reproached the *Grand Master of the Kitchens*, Monfaletto, with the conduct of his head cook, who had served him up a dinner, he complained, made of nothing but wood. " We have been long torturing our brains, Sire," replied the Grand Master, " with new inventions, to please Your Majesty, and never can succeed ; I will now propose to the *Chef de la Bouche* a dish quite new, that he should serve up a *Compote de Pendules*," (alluding to Charles's favourite employment of collecting and comparing watches) " and see whether that will answer better." The idea amused the Emperor, and produced

a hearty laugh, an occurrence always rare, but latterly almost unknown.

From the accounts of his confidant Luis Guijada this same culinary taste had not quite deserted him in the solitude of St. Just. He is there described as asking continually to be supplied with legs of frogs, anchovies and eel pasties, a description of food, as is said, most injurious to him.

Charles had always been a bad sleeper; and the hot climates in which he had passed the greatest part of his life, together with the unwholesomeness of his repasts, had much contributed to increase his wakefulness. After the age of forty, he is said never to have slept more than four hours out of the four and twenty. At five o'clock in the morning a dish was brought to him, consisting usually of a fowl or capon dressed with milk sugar and spices; after which he reposed an hour. At twelve, a dinner was served, consisting of at least twenty dishes. In the evening towards eight o'clock he partook of some anchovies, or other savoury fish, and supped at midnight. He drank little, and that only of the most heating beverages. He took very little exercise, except during the excitement and business of a campaign; but the evil tendency of this sedentary habit was in some degree mitigated by his many journeys, of which his Secretary Vandenesse has left us an account in his interesting diary.

The decline of Charles' prosperity may be dated from the period of his victory at Muhlberg, when he triumphed over the Protestant Princes and took their

chief leader the Elector of Saxony\* prisoner. According to human calculations, the consummation of his grand object appeared at hand. Enterprises against the civil and religious rights of the German people were nevertheless still found expedient ; and war was continued with varied success, till at length Maurice, the young friend and favourite of the Emperor, who had been invested with the Electorate of his deposed relative, commenced that career of refined duplicity, which blinding the Emperor, and baffling all his schemes for the suppression of the Protestant cause, ended in the religious Peace of Passau (1552).

It is a matter worthy of observation, that this treaty

\* John Hooper, the Martyr in Queen Mary's reign, in a letter to Bullinger dated 26th April, 1549 Antwerp, two years after the Elector was made prisoner, thus speaks of the jealousy with which he was guarded, and bears testimony to his constancy. "I was twice at his house in Brussels (where the Emperor then was) and very courteously entertained by his German attendants, who are about thirty in number. The Elector wished two or three times to admit me to an interview, but the presence of the Spanish General always prevented him. He abides stedfast in the faith, and is in a very good state of health. There is no hope of his deliverance, unless, what I trust will not be the case, he should change his religion : he does not despair of the word of God."

The mention made in the same letter of the Emperor's other prisoner presents a very unpleasing contrast. "The Landgrave of Hesse is in confinement at Oudenarde, seven miles from Ghent. He is a man thoroughly wretched and oscillating ; at one time, he promises all obedience and fidelity to the Emperor, receives the Mass and other impious idolatries with open arms ; at another he execrates and abominates the Emperor with his *Interim*.

*Zurich Letters, First Part, p. 85.*

of Passau, as well as that of Westphalia, concluded nearly a century afterwards, by which the reformation was established in Germany, and secured on a still firmer basis, was brought about by means the most improbable, and apparently the least adapted to produce such results. There was no union of religious principle at work, no banding of Protestants against whole communities of Roman Catholics, but more frequently Roman Catholic against Roman Catholic, and Protestants against Protestants as might be best suited to their worldly policy ; the Pope and Emperor usually at variance, and the Turk brought in to determine the fate of Christendom. And so it seems good to the great Governor of the Universe that his mighty purposes may appear not necessarily to stand “ in the wisdom of man, but in the power of God.”

Previously to the negotiations for the peace of Germany to be conducted on the part of the Emperor by his brother Ferdinand, Charles, having disbanded the greater part of his armies, remained with a very slender escort of troops in the Capital of the Tyrol. The delays which Maurice had recourse to, in fixing the time of their commencement did not fail to open the Emperor's eyes to some strong suspicions of his intentions ; nor were his subsequent movements so far concealed, as to render the advance of his troops on Innspruck, anything like the surprize which has been generally supposed. The Emperor was aware of Maurice's machinations six weeks before this occurred, as the following letter from him to his brother Ferdinand will shew, written

on the 4th of April in the utmost perplexity, and distress of mind and body. The letter is in French, as Charles usually wrote, with several breaks and pauses between the sentences.

" Seeing that the Duke Maurice has put off his journey to meet you, and since I am informed of a certainty that he is in person at Augsburgh, and knowing well how little I myself am in any posture of defence here in this fine country, and if I linger much longer here that I stand a chance of finding myself some morning taken in my bed, I have been resolving on my departure . . . But where to go? The road to Italy is not so safe, but that many difficulties are there before me . . . Were I indeed to go thither, destitute as I now am of troops, I should find myself in every place without authority. I see no safety in passing through the Venetian states ; and more than that, supposing I were allowed to pass, I should arrive in a province in no securer state for me than this . . . Besides I should find myself among soldiers under no restraint ; and

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Voyant que le duc Maurits à differé son allè vers vous, et que je suis certainement informé qu'il est en personne sur Augsbourg et le peu de deffense que je vois dans ce beau pays, et que si j'attendois ici plus longuement je ne pourrois si non etre un matin pris dans mon lit, je me suis deliberé . . . de partir . . . (quant au) chemin d'Italie je ne trouve si sheur (sur) que je ne vois des grands inconveniens . . . car y allant, denué de forces comme presentement, je me trouve en tous lieus Desauthorisé, je ne scaye, quelle sheureté je trouveroye en passant par les terres des Venetiens; davantage bien, que me laissant passer, j'arriveroye en une province, que n'est moins alteréé que cette icey . . . outre Je me trouveroye entre soldats libres et fort licentieux

most licentious, discontented at not having received their pay at the time appointed, and among people in despair at the bad treatment they apprehend . . . . And if I take my departure before those who are now at Augsburgh commence their march in this direction, you may well imagine the dilemma in which I may perchance find myself; and if they approach this place by forced marches, a couple of days gained before I am off, I must hasten my retreat according to the rapidity of their advance in a way little suited to the care requisite for my infirmities . . . . In abandoning Germany, I cannot see what I may find myself compelled to, having none to declare in my favour, and so many with power in their hands against me . . . . And where to go, neither having money, nor means of obtaining it . . . . It is also much to be apprehended that the Turkish fleet with that of France would oppose the

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et mecontents pour non avoir la paye à jour nommé . . . et chez un peuple désespe é du mauvais traitement qu'ils craignent . . . . et si je me partage, avant que ceux, qui sont a augsbourg s'achemin assent vers icey . . . vous pouvez bien penser, quelle charge ce me seroit, et s'ils cheminoient vers icy pour deux jornées, qu'ils auroient gagné, avant j'en fusse parti, il me faudroit accelerer mon chemin, selon la hate, qu'ils me donneroient, de sorte que je ne pourraye avoir respect a la debilité de ma personne . . . . Je ne voye, comme abandonnant l'Allemagne à quoi je me vois forcé, pour avoir nul qui se veuille declarer pour moi, et tant de contraires et les forces en leurs mains . . . . et moi sans avoyer eu, ni avoir moyens recouvrir argent, je y puisse sejourner . . . et est fort a craindre, que l'armade turquesque avec celle de France ne serrassent le passage de me remett en mes galeres et passer en Espagne . . . . avec quel honneur

passage of my galleys, were I to embark for Spain . . . You may well conceive what an honourable adventure this might prove, and what a pleasant end I should come to in these my declining days. Besides I hold it for certain, that half of Italy would be in a state of revolt; and our Low Countries fall a prey to France . . . I am well aware, whatever I determine on, if it succeeds, will be placed to the account of good fortune; if it fails, the fault will be mine . . . Finding myself in such extremities, recommending myself to God, I would rather be set down as an old fool, than allow myself to be undone in my old age, without attempting all I can to prevent it, aye and more. If I am to choose between a great disgrace and a great danger, I will take the part of danger . . . And therefore I have determined to set off this night for Flanders, where at present I have the most troops . . . And there I shall not be far from Germany."

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ce seroit, vous le pouvez penser . . . et quel bel fin je feray en mes vieux jours . . . outre ce que je tiens pour certain, que la demie Italie seroit toute revoltée, et nos pays bas seroyent à la proye de France . . . Je scai bien, que quoique je fasse, s'il en advient bien, ils le jetteront à la fortune et si mal la culpe en sera mienne; . . . Me voyant aux termes ou je me vois, me recommandant à Dieu . . . J'aime mieux, que l'on me tienne plus-tot pour un vieux fol que en mes vieux jours me perdre sans faire ce que moy est, et peutetre plus que mes forces . . . entre une grand honte et un grand danger j'aime mieux prendre la part du danger . . . et ainsi . . . Je me suis delibérer partir cette nuit pour Flandres, pour ce que ce que c'est le lieu ou pour le present j'ai plus de forces . . . et la je ne suis si long de l'Allemagne.

In fact the Emperor, weak and suffering as he then was from gout, set off in the stillness of that very night, the 4th of April, taking the route of Ehrenberg and the Lake of Constance, intending to pass through Elsass and Lorraine towards the Netherlands. The news, which reached him the night after, on his way, that Maurice's troops were occupying part of that country, caused his immediate return.

From this period till the 19th of May Charles continued at Innspruck, broken down in health and spirits, incapable perhaps of movement and awaiting the issue of the approaching mediation.

In the mean time Maurice, having contrived that the armistice which had been proposed should not commence until the 26th of May (the day appointed for the meeting of the Deputies at Passau) was employing the interval in a manner most likely to make short work of the negociation. His army was put in motion as the Emperor had almost immediately discovered, and knowing this as well as the subtily and activity of the enemy he had to encounter, it is difficult to assign a cause why Charles should have remained under such circumstances and for some weeks passive and inert. Perhaps it is only to be accounted for, from the reason just mentioned, added to his want of money, and encreased perplexity as to the route to be taken. The road towards Italy was the only one now left open, and the reception he anticipated from his Italian subjects was of the most uninviting nature. On the 19th of May, when intelligence reached him that Maurice

was within two or three hours of reaching Innspruck, Charles had himself placed in a litter, in the middle of a stormy night, escorted by his few followers and slender guard, and conveyed over the rough and mountainous roads of that country to the poor village of Villach in Carinthia at the foot of the Ponteba pass into Italy.

Here he remained till the pacification of Passau.

The energies of Charles however, were not yet subdued. As soon as the peace was concluded he left his inglorious retreat, and having recruited his resources and raised a considerable army in Germany, he undertook a war against the French, the result of which, at the end of this eventful year, was most disastrous to the Imperial troops.

In the following year Maurice's extraordinary career was brought to a close, in the battle of Sieverhausen against Albert of Bradenburg. In a charge, after gaining the victory, he was shot by a pistol ball, of which he died two days afterwards in the 32nd year of his age. When his death was reported to the Emperor, he is said to have exclaimed "O Absalom, my son, my son!"

Though the Emperor recovered his power and authority, he felt conscious that his lucky star, in which he had placed unbounded confidence, was set. He became disgusted with state affairs ; yet he worked on, but with evident disinclination. His audiences were now short, and were only given during two hours after dinner as a sort of recreation. Those who had business to transact with him, were required previously to speak with the Prime Minister, and now usually received their

answers from him, instead of from the Emperor in person as heretofore. The younger Granvelle, who occupied this post, had succeeded in obtaining complete dominion over him. It is remarkable that the only other person admitted into his confidence was also a young man ; William of Nassau Prince of Orange\* who afterwards distinguished himself as the protector of the Protestant cause in the Netherlands and founder of the Dutch Republick. At length Charles's despondency and abandonment of all business was such, that he was known to have been nine months without signing any paper whatever.

But it was not only the decline of his brilliant success in public which led to the morbid state of mind that induced his abdication. He had found no sympathy among the members of his family, on whom alone he had bestowed his affections ; and a deep sense of the ingratitude of his son, who was to be the inheritor of his widely extended dominions, together with a strong misgiving as to his qualifications for such a charge, saddened his declining years. Philip had all the faults of his father, without possessing one of his virtues.

No sooner had Charles made over to his son the un-

\* This Prince was born in the year 1533 and was educated in the principles of the reformation, which his father had embraced. Charles who had taken an early interest in his fate, had him removed to his own court, and instructed in the Roman Catholic faith ; which the Prince of Orange afterwards renounced on the abdication of the Emperor. Charles is said to have foreseen the future great statesman in the boy, who had obtained his early favour by that remarkable discretion which gained him the surname of "*the Silent.*"

restricted sovereignty of his Italian States, for the purpose of facilitating his marriage with Mary Queen of England, (1554,) than it clearly appeared from the behaviour of this Prince, that he conceived the project of inducing the Emperor to abdicate other thrones, which according to his calculations, had been filled by him too long a time already. He was well acquainted with the melancholy which oppressed his father, his sensitiveness and his disgust to the world; and it seemed to him that these feelings might be worked upon as a means of accomplishing his own selfish ends. One of Philip's first acts of Government in Italy, was to dismiss all the Emperor's faithful servants, and to place in their stead the ignorant playmates of his boyhood, or those who had ingratiated themselves into his favour by flattery. Once on being summoned by the Emperor to Brussels, to concert on some important measures against France and her allies in Germany, instead of obeying the mandate, he sent his favourite, a Portuguese, Ruy Gomez Count de Sylva, with a message to this effect, "that as an independent ruler of an important kingdom, he could not go, until it was ascertained what ceremonial the Emperor would observe towards him, and in what light, and with what etiquette, he was to be considered and received." This conduct placed the Emperor under the necessity of making a choice, equally painful to himself, either of breaking openly with Philip, and thus affording his enemies the grateful spectacle of family disunion, or else of freely renouncing the Crowns which his son was so eagerly seeking to grasp. This

ungrateful son was his only one born in marriage. His grandson, Carlos, was much dearer to him ; a Prince who had shewn the fairest promise for the future, as well as the seeds of that daring, cold, and haughty spirit, which proved the cause of his untimely and violent death.

At the time that his consort the Empress Isabella died, Charles had confided to the Duke of Gaudia, Francis Borgia, afterwards General of the Jesuits, his firm intention of retiring into solitude. The storms of State delayed its execution. Just as the dispute with his son Philip began, Johanna the mother of Charles died at Tordesillas, 13th April, 1555. She had been nearly fifty years under confinement, from that permanent disorder of mind, which immoderate grief acting on some natural weakness of intellect had brought on, after her husband's death. Nevertheless in all formal State documents her name had been all along associated with that of her son. In the act now contemplated by the Emperor, of divesting himself of the sovereignty of Spain, and making it over to another, Johanna's total incapacity for business rendered even her nominal concurrence impossible. Her death though a great and distressing blow to the Emperor, now removed this difficulty and accelerated his determination. It wrought much on his heated imagination, which pictured her spirit calling him in a loving manner to follow her into the grave.

On the 26th October of that same year he gave up to Phillip at Brussels the whole of the Netherlands.

After the ceremony when the Emperor made the transfer of these dominions to his son, he presented him with a magnificent diamond heart, and said to him, unable to restrain his tears ; “may God preserve me from evil forebodings, and grant that thy heart may never become as hard as this stone, towards thy father.”

On the 16th January of the following year, (1556) Charles also dispossessed himself of the Spanish Kingdoms in favour of his son ; and on the 3rd August of the same, he sent William, Prince of Orange, and Seld Vice Chancellor of State, to Ferdinand and the Electors, in order to proclaim formally his abdication of the Germanic Empire.

Charles having now divested himself of all his regal and imperial honours lost no time in seeking the solitude of his convent.

He quitted the throne without regret, but not without that emotion, which is inseparable from the breaking up the habits of a whole life. On the night before leaving the Netherlands, he had a long conference with the Vice Chancellor of State, in which he spoke with the deepest interest of the affairs of Germany. On separating, Charles rang the bell for a servant to light Seld to his apartment. It happened that no one came at the moment. “ See those fellows,” said Charles laughing bitterly, “ how soon they have found out that I am no longer master.” He seized the torch himself, and standing on the foot of the stair-case said ; “ let this be a monument to thee, dear Seld, of the Emperor Charles, whom thou hast so often seen surrounded by the most

brilliant Court and victorious armies, and now seest alone, forsaken even by his menial servants ; he whom thou hast served faithfully so many years, now takes the place of a servant in waiting on thee."

On the 17th September, Charles sailed from Rammekens in Zealand, accompanied by his two sisters, the widowed Queens Maria and Eleanora. On landing at Laredo in Biscay, he fell on the ground and kissing it, exclaimed ; "naked I came from my mother's womb, and naked I return to it." In spite of all the entreaties of his sisters, he could not be prevailed on to stay longer than ten days at the Court of Valladolid. On the 14th October, he entered the little garden, which three years before he had caused to be prepared for him at the Monastery of Saint Jerome of St. Just in Estramadura. This beautiful and enchanting spot had long ago, when he first saw it, made a great impression on him ; "it is the very place of repose," he said "for a second Diocletian."

In this solitude the ex-emperor passed a portion of his time in cultivating his garden, and amusing himself with his favourite mechanical pursuits, in which he was assisted by the artist Turriano, whom he had induced to share his retreat. They worked together in large models, and in making useful machines; and finished them in so short a time, that the simple monks looked upon them as sorcerers. Clocks and watches were objects of constant interest. He had above a hundred in his seven rooms, and took the greatest pains to make at least some of them go exactly together,

but finding all his trials vain, sorrowfully made the well known observation ; “and yet I have been so absurd as to waste many years of my life in endeavouring to make the minds and dispositions of millions go together on the most intricate and mysterious of subjects !” It was but seldom that his enfeebled frame allowed him to mount a small horse, on which, accompanied by a single servant, he would occasionally ride into the neighbouring wood.

After commencing his life of solitude at St. Just, he never more saw his son Philip, and only twice had interviews with his sisters. Philip’s unkindness and neglect of his father, were early shewn after his abdication in some paltry concern, respecting the moderate pension which Charles had assigned to himself; and which in process of time, like alms dealt out to a troublesome beggar, was reduced to half the sum of what had been originally stipulated for.

It was very seldom, even during the early period of his retirement, that he allowed himself to be consulted upon affairs of state. The most remarkable incidents of his eventful life were by his desire painted on the walls of his dwelling, and between each picture was a portrait of some one of his most distinguished opponents. It is said that he would sit for hours opposite to the one of John Frederick Elector of Saxony, and that he has been heard to exclaim, striking his forehead with his hand ; “oh, if I had let *him alone as he was*, I should have remained such as *I have been.*”

It has been asserted, that Charles deeply regretted the step he had taken, in abandoning the throne; and there is reason to believe that he did so at times. The Minister Granvelle happening one day to remind Philip, that it was just a year since his father's abdication, "yes," replied the young King sneeringly, "and it is just a year, Granvelle, since he began to repent it." The occasions were rare when subjects relating to his son, and public affairs were brought to his notice; and then some expression or gesture might be observed, betraying a feeling of mortification or disappointment. When Philip, through the generalship of Emanuel Philibert Duke of Savoy, and Count Horn, and the bravery of the allied army, had gained the splendid victory of St. Quentin,\* Charles hastily demanded of the person who was reporting it to him, whether his son had directly marched on to Paris; and on being answered in the negative, he uttered not a word but in bitter

\* Philip did not arrive until immediately after this famous battle. It became with him then a matter of deliberation whether or not to march on immediately to Paris. The best authorities were in favour of doing so, to secure all the fruits of the victory; but Philip's prudence usually verging on timidity, made him yield to the observation of an old Frenchman one of the prisoners. Having caused this man to appear before him, the king demanded how many day's work (*journées*) might be reckoned upon between St. Quentin and Paris. "Sire," replied the old man, "*battles* are very often with us, called *day's works*. If you understand them so, you will find three at least to be necessary. France is not so void of men, that the King my master cannot yet bring together much greater forces than have been now defeated." This well timed and bold remark had its effect and Philip halted at St. Quentin.

indignation gnashed his teeth. His annoyance on another occasion was more strongly marked.

Rigid Roman Catholick as he was, Charles had never shewn any peculiar reverence for the person of the Pope, as a temporal Prince ; witness his frequent contentions and acts of hostility against him. Philip on the contrary entertained sentiments, it would seem, which rendered his wars with the sovereign Pontiff, (for those he did not abstain from), and their success, both inconsistent and nugatory. When Paul the fourth had stirred up France and all Italy in opposition to the King of Spain, and was threatening with his army to invade Naples, Philip would not permit the Duke of Alva to turn his victorious arms against him. He sent not only to forbid his advance towards Rome, but hastened to restore the fruits of all the conquests made upon the estates of the Church. Charles could not conceal his anger and deep contempt when he heard of these proceedings, nor refrain from expressing an ardent wish that he were still in a position to have taken advantage of such a state of affairs.

These however seem to have been rare and but momentary interruptions, to the entire exercise of that devotional zeal which employed all his remaining energies.

He attended the usual services of the Convent, conversed with the Prior and the Monks on theological subjects, and read with deep interest the writings of the Fathers, especially of Saints Bernard and Augustin,

whose spirit and eloquence were in perfect accordance with his own state of mind. His intervals of relaxation were spent, as has been observed, for the most part with Turriano in his work-shop. Thus past nearly a whole year of his solitude, in a manner suitable to the objects of one, who having divested himself of the grandeur and cares of life, was preparing in earnest for its termination. But as gout, and bodily infirmities increased, that melancholy, which in his best days more or less depressed his mind, now overwhelmed it in despondency and fanaticism. The most harmless amusements became hateful to him; and an unaccountable anguish subdued his once powerful soul. He scourged himself with all the severity of the most ascetic penitent; and sang hymns night and day, often dissolved in tears. Sleeplessness kept him in a perpetual fever. At midnight he would walk up and down his dormitory, and along the cloisters of the monastery, and would punctually awaken the monks in time for the second night-service. It is related that a sleepy young novice once answered him angrily; “ can you not be satisfied with turning the world upside down, but must you come here to disturb the peace and rest, for which you are said to have given up all its pomps and glories ? ” At length the strange idea took possession of his brain, of celebrating his own obsequies. The whole monastery and his servants, accompanied the coffin in which he had placed himself, with torches; all praying, himself included, for the repose of his soul. When the procession reached the

High Altar, Charles threw himself on the ground and received the last benediction. On returning to his Cell, the excitement of such a scene immediately brought on a fever, which in a few days turned the mock funeral into a reality. Charles died on the 21st of Sept. 1558, at the age of 58 years and a little more than six months.

Such was the Emperor Charles the Fifth, one of the mightiest monarchs of the world, a touching example of the emptiness of all human grandeur and the truth of the reflexion made by as great, and a wiser king, “that every man at his best estate is altogether vanity.”

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Very few months before Charles had brought his career to a close, it had become notorious that the Lutheran faith was meeting with encouragement in Spain. Two Dominican friars, men descended from ancient families, were propagating the new doctrine, with keen and enthusiastic zeal, and amongst the fair sex especially had met with willing hearers.

On being made aware of this, Charles exhorted the officers of the Inquisition and all the authorities, to be watchful; and unabating in their severities against the encroaching “*plague of doctrine,*” and a little before the scene just described, feeling his end approaching, he made this addition to his will and testament.

“It is well known, that in defence of our Catholic religion against the falsehood and slander of heresy, I have performed various and great labours not without danger to my earthly pilgrimage. Heavy diseases have fol-

lowed my exertions, and now feeling myself to sink under them, I wish to confer once again, as I have already done in my last testament, with my well beloved son Philip, who knows what the Catholic faith is, on this important subject. I exhort, I warn, I adjure him, nay, as a father I command him, to punish heresy, (the welfare of Spain demands it), with the utmost rigour, without regard of persons, without extending mercy to any; and to uphold all Courts of Equity and Justice in their full powers against this crime. So will he do his duty to the Catholic faith, and God will bless him. Moreover he will have done what is most pleasing and most dear to me his father."

The spirit of these his last instructions to his son, breathing so little of the moderation formerly shewn in his dealings with the Protestants, may be easily accounted for, from the latter circumstances of his life, and a deep feeling of mortification and disappointments, which his contests with them had occasioned. Philip indeed, notwithstanding this sort of confession and strong appeal made to him, persecuted the memory of his father to such a degree that he made use of the Inquisition to drag before its judgment seat the companions of his father's seclusion. His Confessor Constantine Ponce, the mechanic Turriano, and the learned Dominican Bartholomew Carranza, Archbishop of Toledo, who had assisted Charles in his last moments, were condemned as heretics. The only crime of these unfortunate men was, that Philip suspected them of being aware of the existence of a Will of the Emperor

leaving the Infant Don Carlos an independent sovereignty over the Netherlands.

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Amongst the youthful Cavaliers who promoted and graced the early fortunes of Charles the Fifth, Ferdinand d'Avalos Marquis Pescara claims the most conspicuous place.

Descended from the blood of ancient kings, which flowed through the dynasties of Navarre, Andalusia and Naples, and husband of the beautiful and richly gifted Vittoria Colonna, the rival genius of Petrarch as she was justly esteemed, Pescara even in his most youthful days justified a high expectation of his future fame by the gallant resistance he made before he was taken prisoner at Ravenna.

Even the suspicious misanthropic Ferdinand of Arragon, surnamed the Catholic, having once seen him at a ball predicted that he would soon raise himself, as a king above his equals. His genius for conducting a great operation was early manifested. He possessed the rare talent of knowing how to combine the theories of war and of politics, and to distinguish the former from the art which is confined to battles and the battle-field ; an instance of this may be observed in the counsel which he urged on Lannoy Viceroy of Naples, the Emperor's especial favourite, at a very critical juncture in the year 1525, a little before the great battle of Pavia, in which Pescara bore so important a part. It was when Francis the first having overcome Lombardy, having gained the Pope, Venice,



CHARLES V. KING OF SPAIN

Emperor of Germany

CHARLES V. KING OF SPAIN



and Florence to his side, and having laid siege to Pavia, dispatched the Duke of Albany with a large force to conquer Naples and Sicily. Lannoy who became alarmed for his province, wished to separate himself and troops from the body of the Emperor's army in Lombardy, and to follow him. Pescara with prayers, and threats entreated him to remain ; and these were the arguments he used. " It is impossible in war that every contingency should be guarded against, and the safety of every thing be provided for. A General's main object is to give occasion to the least possible damage. Here in Lombardy, it is our paramount duty to use every effort we can make, against the French King's army, weakened as it is by numerous detachments. If we gain a decisive victory here ; are not both Sicilies already saved, even had the Emperor not a single place of defence remaining in them ?" Like all great Generals, d'Avalos placed much confidence in a well organised system of espionage. It has been calculated that he laid out 140,000 gold florins\* for this purpose, in the course of four campaigns, and that he often saved the Imperial army from great difficulties by the excellent information thus obtained. On one occasion when these charges were called in question he wrote to the Emperor ; " Sire, let Leyva look as significant as he pleases, but let me go on in my own way, and my life for it, no capital will pay your Majesty better interest in the end than this."

With the eminent advantages which Pescara pos-

\* The assay value of the gold florin is about 6s. 11d.

sessed, and his early renown, it is no wonder that even in his short lifetime he should have been an object of envy, probably of mis-representation, no less than his great master. Infinitely more so however, has his memory been blackened by writers who deemed it not unworthy to become the mere speaking trumpets of their party. Galliard, whose attacks on the Duke of Bourbon are never ending, boldly asserts that the Emperor mistrusted him from the first, and placed Pescara, whose jealous disposition he was well acquainted with, by his side in command of the army, in *order to have him properly watched*. How false is this ! Bourbon the Lieutenant General "*representant la propre personne de l'Empereur*," himself made overtures to the Marquis, expressly and repeatedly, to induce him to accompany the army into Provence, and to the siege of Marseilles (1524). This siege moreover was not undertaken, as has been represented, against the Duke of Bourbon's approbation ; but according to his own desire, and the plan which he himself proposes, in his correspondence with the Emperor. In fact Bourbon and Beaurain had enough to do, in order to overcome Charles's secret dislike to Pescara. The Duke, writing from his head quarters Chiouzzo on the 24th May 1524, entreats the Emperor to express his own desire by letter to Pescara that he should make the campaign with him, having invited him as he says separately so to do, "*lui offrant l'estat de Capitain General de l'armée souz moi*," for, he concludes his letter, c'est ung personnage, "*qui merite bien ung tel estat.*"

The Viceroy of Naples also, himself indisposed towards Pescara, unites his entreaties with those of Bourbon. "Sire," he writes, two days later by the same courier, "*Monsieur de Bourbon n'a point tort de le desirer, car le Marquis est bon serviteur et vault plus que l'on peult dire.*"

The Emperor, it is true, confirmed the Marquis's appointment as General in Chief under Bourbon, and wrote to him with his own hand, but with so much coldness that the proud-spirited excitable noble felt more hurt, than flattered by it.

On the 31st of August Beaurain thus writes by another courier to the Emperor. "Le Marquis de Pescaire ne se contente nullement de mandement, que vous lui avoy envoyé et depuis qu'il est venu n'a plus servy de si bon cœur, qu'il vouloit faire. Je vous supplie, Sire, le contenter, car il fait des Espagnols ce qu'il veut."

The decisive blow which Pescara assisted in striking the following year at Pavia, whilst it placed him on a higher eminence than before, must necessarily have roused the attention, the expectation, and the fears of all the Italian Princes and republics ; especially of the Pope, who saw his secret views concerning this victory laid open before the eyes of the Emperor, as also of the young Duke of Milan, Francesco Sforza, whose paternal inheritance had never yet been restored to him.

All these feelings may be easily supposed to have set in motion the arts of that subtle policy first taught by the Florentine Nicolo Macchiavelli, hardly yet known

whether in jest or earnest, a principal follower as well as victim of which was Ludovico\* Sforza the Uncle of Francis the First. Notwithstanding the warning of this example, and of the iron cage in which he was supposed to have been confined, Geronimo Moroné Chancellor of Milan undertook to play against the Emperor the same dangerous game, which Morus had played sometimes for and sometimes against Louis the Twelfth.

How far and with what motives Pescara was involved in this daring enterprise, opinions have been much divided.

He had taken no pains to conceal his discontent, and how far he was from thinking that the important services he had rendered during two years in Italy, and especially at Pavia, had been in any degree sufficiently recompensed, or even acknowledged. He loudly complained that the Viceroy of Naples, under a constant apprehension that treachery or revolt might deprive

\* Ludovico Sforza Duke of Milan called *Morus* or *il moro* from the mulberry (symbol of prudence) which he had taken for his device.

After the capture of Milan by Louis the Twelfth in 1500, Ludovico, whilst endeavouring to escape, was betrayed by one of his Swiss troopers and made prisoner. The victorious General Louis de Trémouille had him conveyed to France. He was first shut up at Pièvre Meise, afterwards in the Tour de lys, and finally transferred to the Chateau de Loches where he ended his days, not as was currently reported in Italy in a *cage of iron* for which that Chateau was celebrated (invented as Walter Scott tells us by the Cardinal Balue who was one of the first persons put into it) but though imprisoned, treated with humanity.

him of the person of the French King, should have embarked him for Genoa ; and counter-ordering his course should have directed his journey to Barcelona and Madrid, without any conference with his colleagues, or letting them know a word of his intentions.

This was the time when Moronè relying upon circumstances, and a disposition of mind so favourable to his own project, made overtures to Pescara, offering him the Crown of Naples, and the command of an Italian league, composed of the united forces of Venice, Milan, the Roman and several smaller States, if he would join them with his devoted troops, and cut down the remainder of the Imperial army under old Leyva. It is a debated point, and not to be absolutely determined, in what manner Pescara received these proposals, or how far his probity was committed. Some say that his loyalty was never shaken, and that he only pretended to give ear to the plot and to take part in it, in order to get possession of the whole secret, and to divulge it to his master. This is also his own declaration and defence. On the other hand it is more generally affirmed, that he was at first dazzled by the brilliant offer made him ; but that on weighing probabilities he became doubtful of the issue, especially on hearing that Antonio da Leyva, and the Commissary Marino Abbé of Nogara had discovered the conspiracy, and made it known to the Emperor. It is added that Pescara made a merit of his crime by the artifice above alluded to, and having, to serve his own purpose, involved others in it, he hastened to betray them, as soon as his own private interest was

endangered. He is thus accused of acting the most despicable of parts. Let the following authentic documents and facts be weighed against the assertions of French and Italians writers who have noticed this subject, and whose nationality would hardly permit them to view without prejudice the conduct of a man, whose victories in the one case could not be forgiven ; and who in the other would be as little likely to be pardoned for the steady loyalty, with which he broke through their subtle webs of intrigue. Let the dates in these documents also not be lost sight of.

On the 12th of June 1525, the rumour of Lannoy's private departure for Spain reached Milan. Pescara was at this time making use of his tongue, in the same open and fearless manner, as he was accustomed to deal blows with his sword. The date of the visit, which Moroné made him for the object already specified, cannot be precisely determined ; but before the 20th of June, it appears they had several interviews.\* Bourbon, whom

\* Ranke in his admirable history of the Popes referring to the subject of this conspiracy thus speaks of Pescara. "An attempt was made to bring him over to the Italian views against the Emperor. Pescara was born in Italy but of Spanish blood. He would be a Spaniard, and nothing else. He spoke only Spanish. He had no tincture of Italian art or literature. He owed his whole education to Spanish romances, which breathed nothing but loyalty and fidelity. He was by nature adverse to an Italian enterprize ; scarcely had the proposal been made to him, when he communicated it to his comrades, and to the Emperor. He used it as a means of discovering all the views and thwarting all the projects of the Italians."

He goes on to add. "the Historian Votorí loads him with oppro-

Pescara first let into the secret, alludes to a private dispatch sent to the Emperor on that very day. On the 30th of July, Pescara himself makes the following communication to the same, purporting to be a duplicate, and continuation of those reports which he had before entrusted to two couriers.

The original is in Spanish.

"I pray Your Majesty to read this letter attentively, though it must of necessity be rather long, and to pardon me for giving you the trouble of reading my bad writing, in consideration of the service which may be rendered to you by it. Every unprejudiced observer of the past has considered me a dissatisfied man, especially since the Viceroy's departure, and chiefly on that account. Upon this dissatisfaction the Italian potentates grounded the hope that I was capable of undertaking any and every thing.

"In a few days, Gerolamo Moronè came and told me, after much circumlocution, that he had matters of the greatest consequence to discover, provided I would give

brious epithets;" *era superbo oltre modo, invidioso, ingrato, avaro, venenososo e crudele, senza religione, senza humanità, nato proprio per distruggere l'Italia.* Even Moronè, he observes, once said to Guicciardini that there was not a more faithless malicious man than Pescara." I do not bring forward these opinions, "continues Ranke," as supposing them to be true. They only shew that Pescara had evinced nothing, but hostility and hatred against the Italians."

Guicciardini describes him in not more flattering terms than his Countryman above, speaking of his death, he says; "he died by the just judgment of God, who would not suffer him to enjoy the fruit of that seed which he had sown with so great malignity."

him my word of honour to be silent. I did so : upon which he began most energetically, to speak of the discontent pervading the whole of Italy ; which he said was not only ready but determined to shake off its slavish dependence, to which the French were offering every excitement. He called my attention to the intrigues of my adversaries, tried to make me feel that I was in blood an Italian of illustrious family, reminded me of the high renown I might acquire by standing forward as the deliverer of my country; and *that this was the moment for becoming so.* He ended by proposing that I should place myself forward as head and general of the League, demonstrated to me the ease with which this might be effected, and offered me as a bribe the kingdom of Naples. My first impulse was to seize the man who had dared so to address me, and to throw him out of the window, but I commanded my feelings ; and recollecting the importance of his communication, and how essential it was to investigate such a plot to the bottom, I calmly replied, that the substance of his confidence was of the gravest nature, his having chosen *me* as his confidant was no less so, and that I must consider the matter well.

“ It appeared to me on reflection, that I could sufficiently trust myself not to be betrayed into a wrong action, however great the inducement might be ; that as Your Majesty was assured of my good faith, and would in future know it still better, it would be of unspeakable advantage to unravel the truth, without involving myself ; and that I had no other possible means of doing

so, than by thus listening to him. Should I be able to effect a mediation without injury to Your Majesty's service, I determined to do it, and if not to tell Your Majesty the whole story in due time.

"Having considered all this, I therefore answered Moronè, that to speak plainly, I was anything but satisfied in my present position, and had already requested Your Majesty to give me my dismissal; yet that my utmost discontent would never urge me to undertake an unlawful enterprize.

"I concluded that when without injury to my honour, and consistently with the reputation of unblemished knighthood, I could leave your Majesty's service, I should then be at liberty\* to give proof of my own powers, and to shew myself more worthy of attention than *some people* whom your Majesty prefers to honour before me. This was all I said to him, not thinking myself bound to enter further into the matter, that I might not be tied down to any sort of engagement with him.

"Whereupon Moronè explained the whole affair to me, and I immediately communicated with the Duke of Bourbon, Antonio da Leyva, and the Abbé de Nogara concerning it, without however mentioning from whom, or in what manner, I had received the intelligence. We then sent to Naples for the money, and to

\* Here is a trace of the Condottieri spirit still prevalent in Italy, which considered every thing lawful, as soon as the contract was at an end, which had been binding on parties for a certain term either as respecting pecuniary or any other obligation.

Innspruck, to the Lord Archbishop, in order to know whom we might depend upon, in case of necessity, and all this was done with the consent of the Duke and the advice of all the others.\*

"I have already given your Majesty an account of all this business in three different ways, viz. by Giambattista Castaldo, a commander of your Majesty's troops in whom I place great confidence, by the Courier whom I sent to your Majesty on the 20th of last month, and by another Messenger named Franzisco Rutz sent by sea. This report contains further the whole details of the narrow and secret intrigues of the Pope, the Venetians and the French, and shews how easy a matter they consider it to chase away our army. To counteract this, every thing which was possible has been done and herewith, &c. &c. &c."

Even Leyva the obstinate impatient Spaniard, and rival of the Italian Pescara, gives him nevertheless the full credit of discovering this conspiracy, and of making the necessary preparations to counteract it.

In his letter of the 20th August from Vercelli to the Emperor, he thus writes ; "The Marquis Pescara has informed your Majesty by General Castaldo and others, of the movements and intrigues going on in Italy, as well as of the reasons which occasion them. I assure your Majesty that *it is all true*; and that had it not been for the understanding, which the Marquis kept

\* Amongst these, as appears by a letter of Pescara dated Novara 8th Sept. were Don Lopez Hurtado Mendoza, and the Marquis del Vasto.

up, throughout this affair, we should have lost the greatest part of the army, without being able to guess at their projects. The Marquis does more than one could suppose possible to support the army; and to promote your Majesty's service he does not scruple to mortgage and sell his own property."

There is another letter of the 27th Oct. from Leyva to the Emperor expressing the same opinions.

How are we to reconcile such documents as these with Robertson's assertions, who on the authority of Guicciardini attributes the discovery of the conspiracy to Leyva and the War Commissary Nogara, and describes Pescara as conscious of his guilty intrigue, and sensible how suspicious his long silence must have appeared at Madrid; who maintains that after continuing a short space in suspense, "the least commendable motives, as is usual after such deliberations" as he describes, prevailed "and ambition triumphed over honour; that he thought it more prudent to expect the Duchy of Milan as the reward of his discovery, than to aim at a kingdom to be purchased by a series of crimes."

Could these have been the sentiments and reasoning of a man, who in writing to the Emperor from Pavia, October 25th, 1525, on the affairs and destiny of Milan, urges in the following passage of his letter the necessity of opposing a bar to the designs of France upon Lombardy by the Emperor's retaining the Duchy, *himself*.

How touching is the following, dated Oct. 26th, perhaps the last letter he wrote, when he felt the slow

workings of his fatal disease creeping through his veins, and when Moronè having acknowledged his nefarious proceedings before the Military Tribunal at Pavia, was about to receive the reward of a Traitor !

“ Imperial and Catholic Majesty !

“ I managed the business with Girolamo Moronè as is well known to your Majesty, and I promised him secrecy, although at the same time, I did every thing which your Majesty’s service required. Now I would not for any consideration, that he should be made to suffer for having trusted to *my word*.

“ I therefore entreat your Majesty, if my services have deserved such a favour, *to forgive this man*, that he may not on any account suffer for having placed confidence in me.

“ I assure your Majesty that if you choose to make use of him, he is a man capable of rendering important services in many ways. But if your Majesty should not wish to take advantage of his abilities, I again repeat the earnest prayer, that his life, his freedom, and his property may be *spared for my sake*.

“ Nothing could confer a greater favour upon me ; and in this way only, the world will be led to understand, that if I committed a fault, when circumstances rendered it impossible to do otherwise, your Majesty has graciously enabled me to repair it, as much as lay in my power.”

Moronè’s life was spared ; and he became subsequently by the Emperor’s appointment Imperial Paymaster of the Forces.

Four weeks after the above was written on the 29th of November, 1525, Pescara died in the thirty-sixth year of his eventful and romantic life.

### VITTORIA COLONNA.

Not less celebrated, in the annals of peaceful and literary fame, was Vittoria Colonna, the widow who had to mourn his untimely fate.

This illustrious lady was daughter of Fabricio Colonna, grand Constable of the Kingdom of Naples, and Anne Montefeltro daughter of Frederic Duke of Urbino. To all the advantages of birth she added those of beauty, fortune and a highly gifted mind. At four years old, she was promised to the young Ferdinand d' Avalos, the future Marquis Pescara, who was exactly of her own age; and the marriage was allowed to take place, when they had attained their seventeenth year. Great risks are sometimes incurred by these childish contracts; but theirs turned out an union of rare happiness, once interrupted by the accident of war when he was taken prisoner, and afterwards by the honours which awaited him, when called by the Emperor to a high command in the Milanese. These periods of her husband's absence Vittoria passed in the island of Ischia endeared to both, as the scene of their youthful loves; and here she sought consolation and employment in constant correspondence with him, to whom she was devoted, and in the improvement of her intellectual powers. Her early education had been scrupulously

attended to. She was perfectly acquainted with the Latin language, and wrote elegantly in her own, both in verse and prose. Her natural capacity led her by turns to various studies, but poetry was the engrossing object of her imaginative mind, and in this she has established her own fame, whilst referring to the events of her married life, and celebrating the virtues and exploits of her husband. She is further described as exhibiting in her own conduct a rare example of all the virtues.

It is in such, and still more enthusiastic terms that poets and historians have delighted to represent this celebrated woman.

The Emperor Charles the Fifth bears testimony to her merits, when in the exuberance of his satisfaction after the triumph at Pavia, he addressed a letter to the fair Vittoria expressive of his high esteem for her own person, family and *name*, a name which he considered a pledge or augury of the future successes of her victorious husband.

It is much in the complimentary style with a play upon words, which characterises the taste and fashion of the day in similar effusions.

The original is in Latin, of which the following is a translation.\*

\* This letter and the following from a MS in the Abbate Canonici collection.

" Charles by Divine clemency Emperor of the Romans always August.

" Most illustrious and well beloved Cousin !

" As soon as the news reached us of a victory so signal and memorable as that which the most High has lately deigned to grant to our arms, over the French in Lombardy ; amongst the many grateful subjects with which the said victory filled our mind, the association of it with your name, was one of the most pleasing. This was not forgotten by the bearer of your congratulations Francisco Gutteri acting here for the illustrious Marquis Pescara your husband, who so well discharged the office he had undertaken, as to render the name of Victoria a name ever to be considered by us of most auspicious omen. And this, not without further cause, bearing in mind, as we do, the race and family from which you are descended, whose services to ourselves and to our ancestors have been those of no ordinary desert, and more than this, viewing yourself as wife of him, by whose valour in war, and diligence, and good fortune, this great success has been, in our estimation, mainly atchieved.

" With claims like these, Vittoria, offering congratulations on the victory of her husband, may be allowed to participate largely in its grandeur, its glory and its advantages ; and whilst there is nothing too great which the Marquis may not look for, from our gratitude and bounty ; so highly do we value your own affection and dutiful respect towards us, that we are led to esteem

your merits as scarcely inferior to those of your husband, and ourselves consequently in a suitable degree your debtor,

I the King."

16th March, 1525.

The adulatory and extravagant tone of some of the passages in reply to this letter which may be observed in the original Italian as given below, could hardly be rendered in prosaic English; but a version in some sort, is attempted, as follows.

" If the Almighty, in consideration of the high merits of your Catholic Majesty, has deigned to raise you to so exalted a station, that the most powerful Kings await their liberty, and supplicate for mercy at your hands; how can I obtain courage to reply to your most condescending letter, unless in the letter itself, I can find a motive to inspire it! None, indeed in these days, can flatter themselves with the hope of rendering any dutious service to your Majesty, unless through some reflected power and grace emanating from yourself, the summit of perfection, and such a concentration of

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" Le nostro Signor Iddio rispettando il supremo merito de Vostra Cattolica Maestà si degno elevarla in si eccelso grade che cosi Potenti Re ne aspettano libertà et sono constretti supplecarli mercede, che audacia posso hauer Io rispondere alla humanissima lettera sua se da essa medesima non nascere in me luce per capitlarla il animo per meretarla, anzi oggi niun si puo tanto promettere di se che volendo servirla non gli bisogni col suo favor acquistar quanto a essa vuol

merit as to deprive the rest of the world of its glory. In your Majesty's goodness alone, we place our hope, the highest earthly source afforded to mortal man. And since the consciousness of your own perfections may in itself suffice to constitute happiness, independently of the homage and offerings which all the world owes you ; we can only supplicate your Majesty of your boundless kindness, to hold that as received, which we are unable to repay ; and by thus cancelling claims which are your just due, supplying as it were the deficiencies of the universe to render it less unworthy of your Imperial sway.

“ But what shall I say of my own happiness, in finding myself remembered by your Catholic Majesty at a time when you were conquering nations, disposing of Royal lives, and remodelling provinces and kingdoms ; at a time when the peace of Christendom, and the impending ruin of the infidel hung upon your word.

“ I cannot presume to think otherwise, than that it was your pleasure to shew by means like these, how you could at the same moment lower the proud, and

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restituire perche iui e il sommo d'ogni perfecione le virtù così unico ni resplendono che tutto il mondo ni resta spagliato.

“ In la sua bontà conviene collocare ogni speranza che più alto segno non si concede a mortalí. El perche in la sola consideratione et intelligenza de se stesso se felice et beata, non conviene supplicarle altro se nò che poi che se li conciede in la propria grandezza la fruizione d'ogni desiderato bene voglia quello che li deve tutto il mondo e non può darglielo, tenerlo con la sua immensa benignità per ricevuto, che così sodisfarà se stessa e suplende al mancamento del universo, lo fara piu meritevole del degno Imperio suo.

exalt the humble; since there is nothing so great, which does not shrink to small dimensions when brought into contact with the grandeur of your mind, and nothing so small which your condescension cannot raise to greatness. Thus as in many other instances you render yourself conformable to the example of that great Lord and Master, &c. &c. &c.

“ The services, the faith, the loyalty of the Marquis my husband, and of my family I esteem such, as not to be unworthy of the acceptance of your Catholic Majesty; and the promised recompence of these, is grateful to me as a proof of the kindness, with which they have been received; not from any personal desire of aggrandisement, for your Majesty’s liberality has always been beforehand with any just expectation. I hardly know which is to be most esteemed, a reward bestowed by a great Prince, or the glory of being told by him, that he considers himself your debtor.

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“ Ma che diro della felicità mia essendo stata in la memoria di Vostra Cattolica Maestà in tempo che trionfava di tanti Nationi disponeva degli regie vite repartiva li provincie e i regni pendeva del suo giudicio la quieta de tutta la Christianità e la necessaria ruina degli infideli.

“ Non presumo credere altro, si no che in un medesimo tempo volsi mostrare che come sapeva domare i superbe li piaceva esaltare gli humili, ne cose si grande puo trovarse che alla grandezza del animo suo non sia picciola ne si minima che l’humanità sua non la riceva per grande volendo esser in questo effetto come negl’altri conforme a quel Signore che più d’ogni altro rappresente,

“ I servigii fede e sincerità del Marchese mio consorte, e della casa mia reputo per tali che non indegnamente sonno accetti a Vostra Cattolica Maestà e la promessa commodità desidero piu in questa

“ My own name I have ever held in honour, as given to me in commemoration of past victories, but I shall now chiefly value it, as a happy omen for the future, which your Majesty has been pleased to consider it. For my own part, I am conscious only of having used it to obtain a victory over myself; wishing in the face of so many and obvious dangers that the Marquis my husband should go and serve your Majesty rather than remain in quiet by my side.

“ My prayers shall be continually offered up to our Lord God for the health of your Catholic Majesty, so necessary to the world in general, and especially to us, who are so deeply indebted to your protection and kindness.

“ Written at Ischia the first day of May, 1525.”

It was at this, her favourite retirement in Ischia,

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occasione per testimonio del animo suo che per in solita cupidità mia benche la gratitudine e liberalità sua sempre prevenne ogni giusta domanda.

“ Non so già qual sia più d'estimare o ricevere il premio da un tanto gran Principe o la gloria che dice esserne debitori il nome mio tengo in grandissima estimatione essendome stato posto per la Vittoria di suoi passati e maggiormente essendo dalla M. S. preso in Augurio felice conosco averlo usato solo in vincer mi stessa desiderando più presto con tanti evidenti e diversi pericoli che il Marchese la serva, che non che non vegni a quietarsi con me preghero sempre N<sup>o</sup> Sig. Iddio per la salute della C. M<sup>a</sup> V. tanto necessaria a tutto il mundo particolarmente a noi che da questo lume solo siamo retti e sostenuti.

d'Ischia il di primo di Maggio,  
M. D. XXV.”

that the Marchioness Pescara was residing during the late campaign in Lombardy; and here she remained until the account of her husband's dangerous illness was conveyed to her.

It has been asserted by her biographers, that when the temptation of Moronè's conspiracy occurred, it was the high-mindedness of Vittoria which preserved her faltering husband in the path of duty and honour. "Remember," she is said to have written to him, when consulted on so dazzling a proposal as the crown of Naples, "remember the height to which by your great actions you have already attained, a height which exalts you above the glory of kings. Not by grandeur of station, or of titles, but by virtue alone, is that honour to be acquired, which would prove the noblest legacy to your descendants. For myself I have no ambition to be the wife of a king, but of that great Captain who has known how to conquer by his valour in war, and in peace to subdue the greatest kings by his magnanimity."

That these were the sentiments of this truly virtuous and noble lady, there can be no question, and very probably on this occasion were so expressed; but whether at the exact time to influence his decision, when his loyalty to the Emperor was put to the test must be considered doubtful. His letters which have appeared would seem to contradict such an idea. Besides the interval allowed for reflection in such a case seems scarcely to have admitted of communications between Ischia and Milan.

Be that as it may, the happiness which Vittoria was anticipating in rejoining her illustrious husband was never to be realised. On hearing of his dangerous illness she immediately quitted her retreat and set off for Milan ; but on reaching Viterbo, a Courier met her to announce his death.

Vittoria's after life seems to have been consecrated to the recollections of him she loved. This appears in the poetry which furnished a chief source of her consolation, during the first seven years of her widowhood, and bears ample testimony to the sole passion which continued to possess her heart. Mistress of a splendid dowry, and still preserving her beauty, her hand was successively sought by several Princes of Italy ; but though strongly urged by her brothers to make a choice, she persisted in rejecting all solicitations to a second marriage.

After this prolonged period of grief, religion at length administered its consolatory aid, and she became an example of sincere piety, as she had proved herself to be of conjugal love. Her poetry as well as her letters were henceforward chiefly directed to sacred subjects. Much of her time was now passed at Naples ; which from the unsettled state of other parts of Italy, had become the temporary residence of several celebrated men, eminent for their piety and learning, who had communicated a better spirit and higher tone to the society of this gay city than had ever before prevailed. The doctrines of the Reformation had hence, in some respects, here found favour, not only among the superior but among the

middle classes ; and the speculations to which they gave rise in the coteries of the learned and noble, were such as to furnish occupation not merely to the intellect but to the religious affections also. In these, Vittoria with some other women of distinction took a lively interest. Among those who bore a leading part in these societies, and became her intimate friends, were Reginald Pole, a voluntary exile from England to avoid the wrath of Henry the Eighth, and Gaspar Contarini, a noble Venetian, one of his country's most distinguished ornaments, both afterwards Cardinals. Neither of these great men were insensible to the errors and abuses which had crept into the Romish Church ; and to them may be ascribed the honour of the first attempt at reformation in Italy.\* Some articles of the Faith professed in Germany they did not condemn ; far as they were from concurring with the reformers in all points. The unity of the visible Church, and the supremacy of the Pope were too deeply imprinted on their minds to be suddenly renounced, though they sought to establish their creed on the authority of Scripture.

In the friendly intercourse enjoyed with these eminent and virtuous characters, Vittoria may be supposed to have acquired that enlargement and freedom of thought, which countenanced perhaps the idea, erroneously entertained, that she was favourable to the reformed faith. Her subsequent conduct contradicted it. After two or three years thus spent at Naples, she repaired to Rome. Thence in 1541 she retired to a religious house

\* Vide Ranke's history of the Popes.





*Ferdinand Alvarez de Toledo*

FERDINAND ALVAREZ DE TOLEDO.

— Duke of Alba

IN THE IMPERIAL COLLECTION LOWER BELVEDERE, VIENNA.

at Orvieto, and afterwards to one at Viterbo. On her return to Rome at the beginning of the year 1547 she took up her abode in the Palazzo Cesarini, called Argentina. She there fell sick, and died towards the end of February in the 58th year of her age. Michael Angelo who had long been enamoured of her *divine* talents as he expressed himself, was present on the occasion and received her last sigh. All writers have concurred in praise of her virtue, her beauty and her intellectual powers. Four editions of her works were published in her life time, and her modesty had to suffer in finding this same epithet of *divine* given in them all.

#### DUKE OF ALVA.

In the short space of two years, Charles the Fifth lost one after the other his most distinguished generals, Pescara, Freundsberg, Bourbon and Lannoy. Leyva did not long survive.

The Marquis del Vasto\* having once obtained the summit of Imperial favour seems to have veered round, and to have become a totally different person from that which he had appeared whilst under the guardianship of his uncle Pescara.

One only remained, who was always steady to the Emperor, notwithstanding his Sovereign's visible decline, accelerated as it was by protracted sufferings both of body and mind. This faithful adherent was Ferdinand Alvarez de Toledo, Duke of Alva.

\* Not unfrequently written Guasto.

Hormayr in his Austrian Plutarch thus describes him. "A long, thin, boney figure with a high and brazen forehead, deep sunk sparkling eyes, closely cropt head, black bristling hair and flowing beard, hollow, dull voice, stubborn, revengeful and cruel, recognizing no virtue except blind obedience, no means but terror, no merit but his own, or that of his subordinates; as thoroughly a Spaniard, as Publicola and Brutus were Romans, as pliant towards great minds as he was oppressive and cruel towards inferior ones, not exempt from that contradictory meanness which is to be found in every one who sets up to himself *his own* influence as the paramount object of life!"

How completely we recognize in this strong, dark outline the traits of the demoniacal figure represented in the old prints illustrative of the Spanish wars in the Netherlands, as sitting or standing aloof, presiding over that fearful Court called by Spanish historians "*le conseil des troubles*," and by the Flemish "*le conseil de sang*."

His moral portrait has been given by several writers, but all from the same point of view, selecting one particular feature, the most prominent one certainly of his life, as a sample of the whole, his government or rather Dictatorship of the Netherlands. And this, instead of being judged with dispassionate consideration, is enlarged upon and stigmatized in a spirit of the most bitter abhorrence, which his cruelties, it must be admitted, viewed in themselves, were enough to justify. But this is hardly sufficient for the purposes of history,

or for the delineation and full developement of character. The writer who would convey a correct view of the age of Charles the Fifth, as of any other period, must have a mind sufficiently elastic to carry him back to the times he describes, and to form his estimate of men and motives, not by the opinions and feelings of the *present*, but by those which influenced men's actions in *their own proper day*. Unbiassed also by party considerations, he must boldly look to the purest sources for the information he requires.

These are sentiments which Hormayr takes occasion to express in a subsequent notice of the Duke of Alva, contained in his miscellaneous work before alluded to ; and as a material help to an impartial judgment of this distinguished character, he speaks of a book hitherto too much neglected, “*l'Histoire de Ferdinand Alvarez de Toledo premier du nom Duc d'Albe*, Paris, 1698.”

The much scarcer original he observes is in Latin, entirely compiled from family documents, his own private papers, letters and instructions.

The Author, as far as he himself appears in the work, though favourably disposed towards his hero, is no positive flatterer ; and his book abounds in authentic and otherwise imperfectly known particulars concerning that age. It is from Hormayr's two, and in some respects different accounts, with occasional references to the above named work (of the French edition of which there is a copy in the British Museum) that the following sketch is for the most part taken.

Alva's life, which lasted seventy-four years, may be divided into three distinct and very different epochs.

He was born in 1508, and served when only seventeen under his grandfather Frederick de Toledo at the battle of Pavia. His remarkable circumspection which early manifested itself shewed rather a disposition for politics than a promise of any great talents for war. This idea was so prevalent, that the Emperor at one time thought him but little capable of ever commanding an army ; and it was by favour only that he gave him his first promotions. This opinion even in after times was not forgotten, when a Spaniard dared to address a letter to him, with this superscription, “ à Mr. le Duc d' Albe General des armées du Roi en temps du paix, et Maitre de la Maison de S. M. en temps de guerre.”

It was not until after the peace with the French King, that the young Ferdinand de Toledo, just become Duke of Alva, first became personally known to the Emperor. The merits of his father and grandfather were sufficient recommendations to Charles's notice and favour, who had too much discernment not to be very soon sensible of the mistake which had been entertained respecting his military talents.

We first view this young soldier much in the Emperor's confidence, and accompanying him into Germany. We find him following his Sovereign through Vienna, which had just stood the Turkish siege ; into Hungary, and assisting even with his counsels in subduing the formidable Michael Oglon, and putting Solyman the magnificent to his first precipitate flight. After those

great blows had been struck, which relieved Christendom from this formidable invasion, the successful warrior is presented in another light. We may trace him pursuing a highly romantic journey in order to see his wife, whom he loved with all the ardour of youthful affection. In the short space of eight days and nights he travelled all the way from the middle of Hungary to Barcelona, on horseback—spent a day and a half with her, and returned in the same manner, and in the same space of time to his post before the enemy !

Full of patriotic zeal, joined to a sentiment of uncompromising loyalty towards his Sovereign, Alva was at this time looked upon by his contemporaries as the mirror and flower of Spanish chivalry.

Such was Alva in his youth.

In his riper years during Charles's African and German wars, he appears in all the splendour of his military renown. His prudence and at the same time vigour in war, combined with his statesman-like qualities, rendered him a person looked to in every emergency. Wherever the *impossible* was to be done, Alva was called for. In the wild turmoil of the hurricane at Algiers, the Emperor gave this fearless man the chief command : and it was mainly through him that successes were achieved, not only in Africa, but in Italy, Germany, Hungary, and the Netherlands. The victory at Muhlberg affords a proof of his daring courage which could triumph as much over the hesitating wisdom of the Emperor, as over the confused and disunited mass of his foes. An instance occurred too about this

time of his disinterestedness, or good sense ; perhaps of both. The Emperor offered him the Dutchy of Wurtemburg, which he refused, on the grounds of its impolicy and disadvantage to the Emperor's interest to invest with a German Sovereignty a foreigner, and a Spaniard still more hateful to the Germans, who could hardly bear the rule of their own native masters.

Alva was employed by the Emperor in the Italian campaign of 1555, against the French and Paul the Fourth, the implacable enemy of Charles, where he had the opportunity of displaying his great powers both in the field and cabinet. On the succession of Philip, he continued in command of the army in Italy, with undiminished credit. He again invaded the territory of the Church, and having made himself master of the Campagna would have proceeded effectually in his intentions of humbling the Pope, but for the scruples of his master, who stopped him short in his career of conquest, and forced him to abandon the advantages he had obtained. This was hard to be borne by the proud spirit of Alva. In a burst of indignation he could not forbear from telling Philip that timidity and scruples were not compatible with politics and war.

This martial ardour which distinguished Alva, did not proceed from a love of fighting battles, the result of which his foresight taught him was never certain ; but rather from a national enthusiasm in defence of his religion and country. A war against infidels, as the Mahometan Moors, and against heretics, such as he held the protestants to be, appeared to him in no other light, than as upholding the sacred cause of God.

His honesty of purpose, and the straightforwardness of his intentions have never been called in question ; but there is no instance on record, it must be admitted, of one more fearfully influenced by those one-sided, prejudiced views which are so apt to govern and mislead the most ardent and uncompromising characters.

The third period of Alva's life is the one best known ; and one which terribly demonstrates this truth—His government under Philip the Second in the Netherlands. His journey thither through Barcelona, Genoa, Besançon and Thionville in command of a considerable army, composed of Spaniards, Germans and Italians, presents the very *beau ideal* of strict discipline, independent decision, bold reliance on the errors of his enemies, and an Argus-like circumspection ; but after arriving at his seat of government, and during the exercise of his despotic power, none can attempt to excuse Alva from the charge of unmitigated sternness and cruelty. This uncompromising Dictator considered the opponents of his authority simply under one view, as obstinate rebels, rebels not only to their king but to their religion. Whatever the first might have done ; the latter species of crime met with no mercy from men in those days, whether churchman, warriors or politicians ; and that both combined should excite the exterminating energies of such a character as Alva's, is not a matter of surprize. It appears indeed a truth inherent in the very nature of social subordination, that any unequal contest, whether it be for religious or national liberty, too easily degenerates into acts of tyranny and

oppression. Neither in Spain, when Philip the Fifth and Charles the Sixth disputed for the throne, nor during the struggle between Hanover and the Stuarts for the Crown of England; neither in La Vendée, nor even lately in different parts of the world with all our modern cosmopolite ideas, has it ever been thought extraordinary that insurrections should be attempted to be put down by terrour. Yet, with every allowance that can be made, if we give credit to the favourable account of Alva's youth in the book referred to, we cannot rise from its perusal without a melancholy regret, that half a century passed in the midst of war and diplomacy should have possessed the effect of hardening a romantic heart, and rendering a naturally noble minded man capable of such bloody deeds.

If any means or measures could have been employed to repress a determined outbreak for civil and religious liberty, they were wholly unknown to Alva, and his royal master. Philip dreamed only of one mode of governing, a system which was to be wound up, and go of itself like clock work. Alva accustomed to see armed multitudes obey the drum beat by his orders, thought that the unarmed people would be still more ready to yield a mechanical and implicit obedience. But in the Netherlands, among a people proud of their freedom, he was soon made to perceive his error. This, he was not a man to acknowledge even to himself. He nevertheless appears at times to have halted or shewn a disposition to halt in his sanguinary career; but the master under whom he acted was made of still "sterner stuff."

The memoir referred to, affords positive evidence of the otherwise unauthenticated or unknown fact, that Philip the Second, who received the deputies from the Netherlands with so much shew of courtesy, at Aranjuez, and dismissed them with so many fair and consolatory speeches, always added *private* orders to his official instructions, peremptorily enforcing *severity*; and without ever having deigned to reply to Alva's frequent remonstrances, at length transferred the whole odium of those transactions from himself to his faithful servant.

It is asserted in justification of the Duke of Alva for the execution of Counts Egmont and Horn, who were arrested soon after his arrival, and had been nine months in prison, that the Duke only obeyed, and most unwillingly, the positive orders of the king. Two letters were found in the archives of the house of Toledo, written by Philip in his own hand. In the first he expressly orders him to punish those two Counts, and to hasten the construction of the Citadel, as he had directed on Alva's leaving Spain. In the second, he commands him no longer, to delay this execution; and accuses him of timidity for having written that the best means of preventing an open revolt of the Flemings and their appeal to arms was to keep these two nobles, men of the highest consideration in the country as hostages for their fidelity.

The Duke's imputed fault, therefore, in this instance was the being too slack in executing the sanguinary orders of his sovereign. In another letter the king's

displeasure is made known in terms more harsh, threatening to replace him by a more intrepid Governor, who would know how to obey his commands at once.

Philip, when he heard that his bloody orders had been at length executed, and that these distinguished men had suffered on the scaffold, is reported to have exclaimed ; “ I have caused these heads to fall, because the heads of such salmon are worth more than thousands of frogs.” It did not however save the frogs, or keep them within their fenny enclosures, if by this were meant the swarms of respectable citizens, who fled the Low Country, and carried along with them their wealth and industry, or the eighteen thousand victims judicially murdered afterwards, or the thirty-two thousand, as has been calculated, eventually slain in battle.

The Prince of Orange who was too well aware of the insincerity of Philip, to trust to the fair speeches which had seduced Egmont and Horn to their destruction, no sooner heard of Alva’s extraordinary commission as Dictator, (the Duchess of Parma being still Governess of the Netherlands, an office which she soon afterwards resigned) and the advance of his army, than he quitted Brussels with a band of gallant men, and became a rallying point to those, who sought to defend their liberties. This warlike Prince and his adherents, supported more or less by the Protestant powers of Europe, continued their noble contest with varied success, until at length the grand object was

achieved in throwing off the Spanish yoke, and accomplishing the civil and religious independence of the seven united Provinces.

During the several campaigns which followed, issuing thus far at length in the triumph of the Protestant cause, Alva nevertheless sustained his renown as the ablest general of the age. In the sort of warfare in which he was now engaged, he was principally distinguished for his skill and prudence in his choice of position and time for attack, and for rigid enforcement of the strictest discipline. He thus often obtained by cautious delay, what might have been lost or dearly purchased by a precipitate encounter. When urged at Cologne by the Archbishop, to an attack of the Dutch, Alva's reply was "the object of a General is not to *fight* but to *conquer*; he fights enough who obtains the victory." On another occasion, when Alva had attacked the Duke of Nassau at Gemmingen; the Prince of Orange, appearing with a more powerful army, whose movements the young Frederic de Toledo had been charged to observe, this young officer sent to entreat his father's permission to make an attack on the rebels. Alva who had already given his orders, and who required a blind and passive obedience from all in subordinate ranks, announced to his son, that he pardoned his presumption only on account of his inexperience. "Let him take good heed," he added, "not to press me more, for it will cost the life of him who brings me a like message."

It was for conduct of an opposite nature to this over

zeal, that the Duke's anger was manifested against his son in one of the last acts of his dictatorship. A numerous and well disciplined division of veterans was placed under young Toledo's command at the siege of Harleem, but such were the spirit and exertions of the besieged, that week after week was fruitlessly consumed in the enterprize ; until at length he was advised by his most experienced officers to abandon an attempt which proved more fatal to his own troops than to the enemy. The reproaches of his father deterred him from so inglorious a design. "Prosecute the siege," wrote the offended Alva to his son, "until you bring it to a favourable issue, unless you would prove yourself unworthy of the name you bear, and the blood you spring from. You must endeavour to effect by famine what you have been unable to accomplish by the sword ; you must blockade the town instead of storming it ; but if you still entertain thoughts of abandoning the enterprize, I will come myself, sick as I am, to the camp ; or if increasing illness should prevent me, I will send for the Duchess your mother to assume the command." So severe a reproof was not necessary to rekindle the ardour of Frederic, whose haughty spirit resembled that of his father and was little less impatient of contradiction.

The cruelties exercised at the fall of this place, roused afresh the indignant feelings of the Netherlanders, which were still further excited by the insulting spectacle of a bronze statue raised in the Citadel of Antwerp to commemorate the triumph of their merciless

dictator. It was a figure of Alva in full armour, and at his feet a two-headed monster allegorically referring to the nobility and people. The whole was supported by a pedestal of marble with the inscription: "In honour of the Duke of Alva for having restored the Belgians to their allegiance to the King and to the Church; and the Country to tranquility, peace and justice." This was an outrage on the feelings of the nation too galling to be borne, so revolting that it gave offence even to Alva's friends.

His good fortune was nevertheless at this period on the ebb, a fleet which he had equipped was destroyed, and its commander taken prisoner; whilst minor disasters attended his arms on shore.

His health was now beginning to give way. Incessant toil of mind and body was visibly undermining his constitution. Other causes might have had their weight in determining him to seek his recal from a position to which he found himself unequal. Philip's favour seems to have been on the decline. It is said he could forgive the loss of seven of his provinces during Alva's administration; but he could not pardon him for inscribing his own name on the trophies erected at Antwerp instead of his master's. Perhaps experience and his natural sagacity might at length have convinced Alva, that the task he had undertaken was impossible; that a veteran army, commanded by the most powerful and determined leader, with all the aid of military skill and vast resources, were insufficient to crush the desperate efforts of a whole people, inspired

by the ardour of liberty, and religious zeal. Be that as it may, this truth was clearly demonstrated afterwards, when the milder government of his successor Requesens, the warlike renown and energies of Don John of Austria, and the military genius of Alexander Farnese Duke of Parma, were equally in their turn found ineffectual to suppress the revolt of the Netherlands.

Alva received his recall in 1573 and left the country over which he had presided with unrelenting severity for about six years. The first act of his successor's authority was to demolish the statue set up in the Citadel of Antwerp, so that nothing remained to perpetuate his name in Flanders, but the memory of his cruelties.

Few documents pertaining to these memorable times can afford a more striking illustration of the brighter parts of the Duke of Alva's character, his sound understanding, his experienced wisdom, his thorough knowledge of soldiers and of war, as well as his loyalty and tender attachment to the great Emperor, than the following confidential letter to Don John of Austria. It was written whilst Alva was in the Netherlands in the year 1570, a little before the memorable victory achieved by this young and gallant prince over the Turks and Turkish fleet at Lepanto.

The German copy from which the following was taken, is a contemporary official translation of the Spanish original.

“ No circumstance in the course of my life ever made me feel more regret, than I do at the present

moment, that other duties should interfere to prevent me from attending your Excellency during this expedition. I beg to assure you, that you have not a soldier amongst your followers, who is prouder to march under your banners than I should be to do so myself, and that were I at present in Spain, neither the burden of sixty-four years, nor any infirmities, were they ever so great, should be permitted to place an impediment in the way of my joining you. ‘ No horse is too old for a little caper, if it be done willingly, even at the risk of feeling a little stiff after it.’ Your Excellency must not suppose, that I am boasting of more than I am able to perform by this saying; but I quote it because it was taught me by your father,\* on which account I value it highly.

“ I have been informed that your Excellency is to be accompanied by the Commandator Major de Castella, the Marquis de Pescara, the Count de Saint Flor, Joan Andrea, and the other officers in command of the galleys, and also Ascanio de la Cornia.

“ Truly, Sir, it is a goodly company; and your Excellency must rejoice, that his Majesty has sought out for you such distinguished persons and men so well qualified to furnish you with good counsel upon all occasions. I entreat your Excellency to treat them with much affection, and to keep them in good humour with one another. For soldiers are so constituted,

\* Don John of Austria was a natural son of Charles the Fifth. His reputed mother was Barbara Blomberg a citizen’s daughter of Ratisbon.

that they will never give way, even the breadth of an inch ; no, not if it were to their own brother, or their own son. And yet surely this obstinacy, unpleasing as it is, may be forgiven, when we reflect that with them any trifle may turn to a stain on their honour.

“ Before your Excellency proposes any question in full council, I should recommend your adopting the plan of a private and confidential communication on the subject, whatever it may be, with each of your advisers *separately*, in order to hear their unbiased opinions. I know this practice to be highly useful ; for each member flattered by a mark of esteem which he will regard as a particular favour done to himself individually, will thus be induced to give without restraint his real opinion.

“ In full council it often happens, that one Soldier only talks to prove his own superiority over another ; whereas according to the afore mentioned plan, when they feel bound by your Excellency’s previous knowledge of their sentiments, they will speak out freely, and no longer contradict each other, merely for the sake of argument.

“ In council also, your Excellency should take pains to prevent any thing like quarrelling, at the same time securing due consideration for the subject in debate ; and all this with careful attention to your own dignity ; for it does not do, to be too condescending, lest the high respect which ought to be entertained towards your person should suffer any diminution.

“ It will be useful to assemble your public council

often, and to let it consist, not only of Field Marshals, and Colonels, but of Captains also, which will give great satisfaction to those officers who are a step lower in rank.

“ Your Excellency should endeavour always to shew a cheerful countenance to your soldiers, for this with a few sentences of commendation from your own lips, directed sometimes in favour of one nation, and sometimes of another, will go a great way towards conciliating the regard of the troops, who are very fond of boasting of their General’s own words.

“ I must also recommend to your Excellency to shew as much interest as possible in their payment; that they may receive it regularly whenever it can be obtained, and when that is out of the question, that they may at least see your Excellency anxious to procure it for them on the very first opportunity. Also to take care, that the provisions be of the best kind; and let the soldiers understand that the Commissariat is under your own particular superintendence.

“ When the Captaincy is vacant, and the Lieutenant has proved himself an efficient person, let the appointment be given to him in preference to any other, especially in the case of private soldiers, whose advancement should always be the result of merit and not of favour.

“ When all this justice and consideration is added to great strictness in enforcing discipline, your Excellency cannot fail of being loved and respected by all. Do not fear that strict punishment will alienate the affections of

soldiers, for on the contrary, too much lenity and indulgence are a great deal more likely to do so.

"It is highly necessary that all the officers under your Excellency should be held in great respect, and looked up to by the soldiers, for which end your support of their authority should be such, as to convince all offenders against it, that they have no indulgence to expect from your Excellency on this subject.

"The defence of a fortress depends so much more upon the people inside it than upon the strength of its outer walls, that let these latter be ever so ruinous, if it has a good and numerous garrison, and no lack of provisions, it will always be able to hold out till the siege is raised.

"I must warn your Excellency that the first encounter you have to expect, will probably be one against your own soldiers; for they will counsel you to give battle at the wrong moment; they will want to know your reasons for delaying it, and will grumble and look discontented, and say that you are losing the fairest chance.

"Against all such remonstrances allow me to entreat your Excellency to make a very firm stand; and remember that you are the son of a great warrior, and are born to be a soldier.

"As the screams and shouts of the Moors are a novelty even to experienced veterans, what must they not be to your young soldiers? And since your Excellency has no cavalry, we must devise some means to prevent the troops from suffering anything like a panic.

Your Excellency's army will not be required to advance, and its safety may always be secured by entrenchments.

" I have always been an enemy to stratagems, and have never used them, except during the last expedition against these rebels, who were superior to us in point of cavalry ; but I send your Excellency a model which may be useful, and being small can be easily carried about.

" Your Excellency may trust me and rest assured that in many cases the soldiers' confidence may be gained by the most childish device ; and that even a whisp of straw set up and proclaimed by his commanding officer to be a safeguard or protection, may be found enough to warm his heart and animate his courage in a moment of need.

" Your Excellency should on no account permit *skirmishing*, for to such we may often trace the disasters which have occurred in Barbary, and much of the confusion and disorder incident to war in general.

" Every possible means of discipline, be it remembered, rest with the commanding officers, and it is consequently in their power to prevent or to remedy all irregularities.

" Upon this view I acted on the night of my retreat from Colonna to Rome; and in order to preserve the excellent discipline which prevailed, undisturbed, I continued my march fifteen miles further without halting ; and not a single member of the army broke the ranks. The Conde de Santa Flor and Ascanio de la Cornia

who were with me, will be able to report to your Excellency, concerning the order which was established on that occasion.

" My affection for Your Excellency which prompts this letter, must at the same time serve as an excuse for its length, and for the perhaps unnecessary details it contains ; but the unstudied plainness with which I have ventured to note down every trifle which struck me as being useful, will sufficiently prove that it was written for your Excellency's eyes alone. Had I intended to indite a document for the advantage of others, I would have made it much shorter, and have offered my advice in a more professional manner ; that I might have given no occasion to those who belong to the army to criticise or to blame me, which many who see this, might be ready to do.

" I will not fatigue your Excellency with any entreaties on the subject of your demeanour towards his Holiness the Pope, and also towards the Venetian General, because I well know how careful you are in those matters, feeling convinced that your Excellency will use the utmost courtesy in all your dealings with them. Yet I would fain remind your Excellency that a peculiar degree of consideration is due to his Holiness, who should be held in all love and reverence like a father ; and I would recommend your Excellency also to pay great attention to the Italian Potentates, and to write to them often ; and thus to shew how diligent you are in your correspondence, and what a good understanding you are desirous of keeping up with them.

"It will be desirable, I will further add, to maintain the same degree of interest with his Majesty's ministers, by keeping them fully acquainted with what is passing, and giving as much support as is in your power to their authority. This may be always done with perfect propriety, provided that your requisitions of what is essential to his Majesty's service, come so recommended that they may take pleasure in duly attending to them."

Is there not something in the spirit and tone of these instructions which brings to the reader's mind the idea of another great commander, the illustrious Duke of these latter days?

Alva, after quitting the Netherlands, sought the retirement of his Country place, where he remained unnoticed by the Court. The behaviour of his son, who had misconducted himself towards one of the maids of honour, is supposed to have been one cause of the coolness observed towards the father on the part of Philip. During this period of neglect, if not of disgrace, Alva never attended the council at Madrid except when specially ordered to do so. This appears to have been but once, on the death of Requesens, which happened in less than two years after Alva's retirement. He was then called upon to give his opinion on the appointment of a successor. The Duke, whose ardour for putting down revolt by terror, and the force of arms, was yet unabated, recommended and strongly urged the nomination of Don John the Victor of Lepanto to this arduous post. This was his ad-

vice to the king in council. “ Let this young Prince be sent, but with a powerful army ; and if the Royal Treasury is not sufficient for this expense, let them take the sacred vessels and ornaments of the Churches to be employed on this work, for it is a war purely religious. Broken down as I am with age and infirmities, I will willingly follow this amiable Prince, and am ready to do my duty as a private soldier in a country, where, as General-in-chief, I have cut to pieces the greatest armies. I will do this, Sire, if your Majesty wishes it, and shew by this action to all the world that, the Duke of Alva makes war, less for his king and the acquisition of glory, than for the service of God and the exaltation of the Church ”

Don John was accordingly appointed Regent.

After the death of the young king Sebastian of Portugal in the battle of Alcazar, and that of his great uncle the Cardinal King Henry, his feeble successor ; Philip, whose claim to the succession appears to have been the best among several competitors, became impatient to unite the whole Peninsula under his dominion. For this purpose a war was to be undertaken, and a General was wanted. Ill as Philip had treated the Duke of Alva, whom he had condemned to a sort of banishment, a sense of his own interest at this time brought to the king’s recollection the long tried fidelity and abilities of his old commander. Two of the Royal Chamberlains were dispatched to Uzeda, the place of

Alva's retreat, to enquire whether his health still allowed him to take the command of an army. The loyalty of Alva had not yielded to neglect. He answered without hesitation, that he was ready to devote the little remains of his strength to the service of the king, to whom he begged permission to pay his respects at Madrid. Yet this trifling request was most ungraciously refused ; and Alva after having received his instructions, was immediately ordered to join and to take command of the army. Those who had witnessed his arrogance and cruelty in the Netherlands, were not sorry for the mortification he now experienced, but could not withhold their applause for his invincible loyalty, which determined him, in the extremity of age, to face the fatigues and hazards of war for the advantage of a sovereign who had repaid his former services with so much ingratitude. His work, the last labour of his life, was soon performed. In two battles the fate of Portugal was decided. That fine kingdom with all its foreign possessions was gained to Philip, and continued united to the crown of Spain until the year 1641, when its independence was restored, and John of Braganza a descendant of the old Royal family was seated on the throne.

Alva did not long survive this great success. At Thomar, where, it appears, he met the King, he breathed his last in December, 1582 ; and according to the biography referred to, in the arms of his master. On this occasion, Philip is reported to have given a last and touching testimony to his merits, thus addressing those

who were present ; “ I experience at this moment that there is nothing more contemptible than the gifts of fortune ; and I know too well that she gives us a little, in order that she may take away much. She no sooner puts me in possession of a great kingdom, then she robs me of a still greater good, by depriving me of a Captain, most able, most brave and most faithful.”

In the two works referred to, from which the foregoing has been for the most part gathered, there are some discrepancies. The personal description of the Duke of Alva given from Hormayr nearly corresponds with that contained in the more generally favourable account of the other memoir ; but the description of his end is very different. “ The qualities of his body,” it is there said, “ answered well to those of his mind. His person was well formed, of a moderate height, and strong featured long face, eyes lively and full of fire, which as he grew older became more fierce. He had a stern and sometimes terrible countenance ; his forehead was high, his step firm and grave. He was indefatigable, slept and ate little ; was not delicate ; spoke little, but with much discernment.” The writer in this work gives us also to understand that in his last years, he was a cheerful old man. Hormayr describes his end in the most fearful colours. The ghosts of those he had murdered appeared to press before him in a threatening manner ; and he died with a passionate and violent repentance. Between these conflicting representations, whoever may be curious to seek the truth, will not fail to observe, that in the acts of Alva’s

latter days there appear a like bigotry and entire consistency of purpose with those of his former life ; and nothing like a change of sentiment can be detected, to make us suppose that what he once thought the perfection of manly virtue, he could be afterwards led to view in the light of the deepest guilt.

the first time I have seen a man from this  
place who could not speak English. He  
was a tall, thin, dark-skinned man, with  
dark hair, and a very prominent nose.  
He had a very large mouth, and his  
teeth were very white and straight.

## PART THE FOURTH.

Relatione del Clarissimo M. Bernardo Navagiero,  
ritornato Ambasciatore d'Alemagna da Carlo Quinto  
Imperator, l'anno MDXLVI. nel mese di luglio.

MS. formerly belonging to the collection of the abbate Canonici of Venice now in the possession of the Rev. Walter Sneyd of Denton, Oxon.

Bernardo Navagiero was Ambassador at the Court of Charles the Fifth in the years, 1544, 45 and 46. He was a noble Venetian of high character and of the same distinguished family as André Navagiero a former Ambassador at the Emperor's Court.

Bernardo was Bishop of Verona, and charged with several successive Embassies. He was a Father of the Council of Trent and died a Cardinal in 1565.

The doge of Venice addressed in this Relation was Francisco Donato a Prince celebrated for his many amiable qualities, as well as for his eloquence and profound erudition.

ADDRESS TO THE DOGE AND SENATE OF VENICE,  
by the most noble BERNARDO NAVAGIERO, late Ambassador at the Court of the Emperor Charles V; on his return from Germany in the Month of July, 1546 : after a sojourn of thirty-four months.

Most Serene and illustrious Prince,

In the following report, which is the last duty of my Embassy, I shall feel myself bound to consider rather how many things may without injustice be omitted, than how many things are to be put in; since it is impossible that scantiness of material can be attributed to an ambassador just returned from the Court of so great an Emperor as Charles V; and especially when such stirring events as active warfare, untenable confederations, and an unexpired for peace, all took place during his mission! Considering therefore the manifold occupations of your Highness and of this illustrious Council, I will confine myself to the relation of such things only as may tend to usefulness in the future deliberations of your excellencies—thereby endeavouring to fulfil the object of that wise custom which requires a similar Report from all our Ambassadors.

#### DESCRIPTION OF THE EMPEROR.

The Emperor is now forty-six years of age. He is a Prince who amidst all his greatness and victories has retained a most humble and modest demeanour.

He appears to be very studious of religion, and

wishes by his example to excite the fervour of Divine worship in his Court ; so that in order to acquire his favour there is no surer method than propriety of conduct, and the profession of sincere Christianity.

His Court is more quiet and modest than I can describe ; without any appearance of vice, and perfectly well ordered. In his audiences, especially towards persons in official situations, he is extremely patient, and answers everything in detail ; but seldom or never comes to an immediate resolution on any subject. He always refers the matter, whether it be small or great to Monsr. de Granvelle ; and after consulting with him he resolves on the course he has to take, but always slowly, for such is his nature.

Some people find fault with this, and call him irresolute and tardy : whilst others praise him for caution and discretion.

With regard to private audiences, he used to be more diligent than he now is ; but even now he generally has two or three every day after dinner. These private audiences are sometimes left to his Ministers ; and *they* being few, and the affairs many, no one can come to Court for any matter, whether of importance or otherwise, without being detained much longer than is agreeable to them.

The Emperor dines in public almost always at the same hour — namely, twelve o'clock at noon. On first rising in the morning, which he does very late, he attends a private mass, said to be for the soul of the late Empress. Then, after having got over a few

audiences, he proceeds to a public mass in the chapel, and immediately afterwards to dinner. So that it has become a proverb at Court; “Dalla messa alla mensa,” (from the mass to the mess.)

The Emperor eats a great deal; perhaps more than is good for his health, considering his constitution and habits of exercise. And he eats a kind of food which produces gross and viscous humours, whence arise the two indispositions which torment him; namely, the gout and the asthma.

He tries to mitigate these disorders by partial fasts in the evening, but the physicians say it would be better if he were to divide the nourishment of the day into two regular meals.

When his Majesty is well, he thinks he never can be ill, and takes very little notice of the advice of his physician; but the moment he is ill again, he will do anything towards his recovery.

He is liberal in some things, such as recompensing those who have served him in the field, and those for whom he has any particular regard; but even in this he proceeds slowly. In his dress, his table, furniture and equipages, and the chase, he affects rather the state of a moderate Prince, than of a great Emperor. Although not by nature inclined to do so, his Majesty is constrained to dispense gifts on a very large scale; for all the income of the *three orders*\* in Spain, which are extremely rich, must of necessity be distributed by the Emperor, as also the many benefices and bishoprics

\* St. Jago, Calatrava, and Alcantara.

of Spain and his other dominions. It is plain that he proceeds very cautiously in these matters, and gives away with much discrimination ; having respect only to the good character and virtuous conduct of those to whom they are given ; and on the subject of these Bishoprics, His Majesty generally acts by the advice and opinion of his Confessor, a Spanish monk of the order of St. Domenick.

The Emperor professes to keep his word, to love peace, and to have no desire for war, unless provoked to it. He is consistent in keeping up the dignity of those whom he has once made great ; and whenever they get into difficulties he trusts rather to his own judgment in their case, than to what is said of them by others. He is a Prince who will listen to all, and is willing to place the utmost confidence in his friends, but chooses to have always the casting voice himself ; and when once persuaded in his own mind, it is rare indeed that any argument will change his opinion. His recreations consist chiefly in following the chase ; sometimes accompanied by a few attendants, and sometimes quite alone, with an arquebuss in his hand. He is much pleased with a dwarf given to him by His Highness the King of Poland, which dwarf is very well made and quick witted. The Emperor sometimes plays with him, and he seems to afford him infinite amusement. There is also a jester lately come from Spain who makes His Majesty laugh, and causes a deal of merriment at Court. His name is Perico, and in order to please the Emperor, whenever Philip his son is named, he calls him S<sup>or</sup> di Todo.\*

\* Lord of all.

And now, though I might enlarge much more upon the nature, habits and virtues of the Emperor, I will only remark as a brief summary, that from all I have seen in my time and from what others who frequent his Court are obliged to confess, there does not exist in these days a more virtuous Prince or one who sets a better example to all men, than His Majesty Charles V.

#### THE EMPEROR'S BODY-GUARD AND HOUSEHOLD.

The Emperor's body-guard consists of two hundred halberdiers; one half of whom are Spanish, and the other half German; and of one hundred Archers, who receive more than twice as much pay as the former.

His household is divided into three principal departments. The first is under the direction of the "Sommelier du corps" (King's Butler; or Comptroller of the Household) who now performs the duty formerly devolving on the Grand Chamberlain; for since the death of Mons<sup>r</sup>. de Nassau the Emperor has not chosen to appoint any one in his place.

The second department is under the "Maggiordomo Maggior," (Chief Majordomo, or Master of the Household) and the third under the "Gran Scudier" (Master of the Horse.)

The first of these appointments is now held by Mons<sup>r</sup>. de Rice, a Burgundian, and in his absence by the eldest of the Gentlemen of the Chamber (il "Camerier piu vecchio"). Under his orders are all those whose duty or privilege it is, to enter the private apartments; and to whose care the guard of the Sovereign's

person is committed; such as, the Gentlemen of the bed-chamber, the household servants, and the medical men and other officials who are concerned in the preservation of human life.

As soon as the Emperor leaves his own apartment the charge of guarding his person devolves upon the Chief Majordomo, the Duke of Alva.

Under him are two other Majordomos. One of them is a Piedmontese, called Monfalconeto, and the other is a Spaniard, named Giovan Manzi Guedilara who is brother to the Duke de Nagara. Under their orders are all the Gentlemen of the kitchen and of the household,\* who are occupied with the arrangements of the Emperor's table, and the necessary household expenditure.

There is a stated number of these attendants, but it sometimes varies at the Emperor's pleasure. They all attend His Majesty in time of peace, and of war; some with two, some with four, and some with six horses. During a campaign they are embodied into what is called the Squadron of His Majesty's Household.

As soon as the Emperor puts his foot into the stirrup, the charge of guarding his person is transferred to the Master of the Horse, the Count de Bresse. Under his command are all the horsemen and pages of His Majesty; and the arms and everything pertaining to war are in his keeping.

I have been told by one who manages the Emperor's household expenditure, including his private chapel,

\* "Gentiluomini della bocca e della casa."

music, and the chase, that it amounts to no less than 250,000 ducats a year ; which payments are now made out of the Spanish monies when the Court is in Spain, and out of the Flemish ones when it is in Flanders.

He also told me, that the plan of distributing the several offices as above referred to, and the salaries of the various officials, are entirely founded on the household arrangements of the Dukes of Burgundy.

#### THE EMPEROR'S COUNSELLORS.

The Emperor has two principal Counsellors. I might say he has **ONLY TWO** Counsellors, who support the burden of all his states, namely, Covos and Granvelle ; neither of them were born noble ; both were raised from obscurity and brought forward by him, and by his means have acquired all their wealth, partly through the liberality of the Sovereign, and partly through the importance of the affairs intrusted to them. Covos is said to have an income of no less than seventy thousand ducats a year, and Granvelle, including the benefices of Monseigneur of Arras, has nearly fifty thousand, besides much ready money, and a handsome and valuable property in silver and household furniture. Every rare and precious thing in Spain, Germany and Italy, has at one time or another passed through the hands of these two Ministers, and is likely to do so again.

**THE GRAN COMMENDADOR COVOS.**

Concerning Covos I hear, that he is very adroit and courteous. There is great difficulty in gaining access to his person, but when once this is overcome, his manners are so soft, graceful and pleasing, that every one departs well satisfied. When he is able to grant a favour, he does so immediately, without the slightest delay, and if he is obliged to give a denial to any request, it is done with apparent reluctance, and not without offering a good reason for the necessity. Covos is thoroughly acquainted with the Emperor's disposition, and with the fit time for making applications to him, which is perhaps the reason that he is so much liked by His Majesty. When he is with the Emperor, every thing passes through his hands, and when absent, his opinion is sent for on all occasions of importance.

He has boasted of having acquired at least a hundred friends by means of the various services he has been able to render them ; and I should suppose, that each of these services must have been worth at least a thousand ducats to him. The popularity of Covos both with the Emperor and others, is very much increased by the amiable bearing and gentle manners of Donna Maria di Mendoza his wife, who receives and entertains every one with great cleverness, and courtesy of demeanour.

## THE GRANVELLES.

Mons<sup>r</sup>. de Granvelle, being a native of Burgundy, is well acquainted with the customs of the Low Countries, and with the Emperor himself, who calls him his Chief Counsellor, and the keeper of his seal.

Whenever the Emperor leaves Spain for Germany or Flanders, Granvelle rises in importance, and he has lately been in such continual request, that nothing either small or great could be done without his concurrence.

This has necessarily involved a most wearisome prolongation of business ; and yet, neither the Emperor nor himself seem to wish for any one else to assist in the affairs of the Low Countries. On the contrary it is asserted, that Granvelle endeavours to keep the Emperor out of Spain as long as possible, in order that he may continue alone in his important functions. He is reputed somewhat hasty and impatient by those with whom he has to deal, but, considering the multitude of affairs which daily press upon him, this failing should be treated with indulgence.

Mons<sup>r</sup>. de Granvelle is now intent upon bringing forward his son, the Bishop of Arras, who is a very pleasing person, well bred, and literate.

He speaks five or six languages, and is universally popular at Court. He begins to take a part in all important negociations, and was present at the treaty of peace with the most Christian King. He has been on a mission to England, and also to France ; and is much

in the good graces of the Emperor, both on account of his own merits, and those of his father.

Though Mons<sup>r</sup>. de Granvelle, who was born poor and of small reputation, has now risen to such a height of wealth and grandeur, yet is he esteemed in nothing more fortunate than in his seven children, who are all amiable, polished, and liked by every one.

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No place can be obtained, nor any affair of importance be carried on, without the assistance of one of these two great men, Covos, or Granvelle, for which reason there is hardly a King, Prince, Lord, Duke or private gentleman who does not either pension or confer gifts upon them. This the Emperor is well aware of, and he allows it; and many people think it a great privilege to know of a means by which they can secure the interest of those who have the power of obtaining for them what they desire.

Next to these two great men, the Duke of Alva and the Regent Figueroa stand highest with the Emperor as his advisers in Council. Figueroa is a Spaniard, who was brought up by the Viceroy of Naples.

He is esteemed a man severe and just, and is always consulted touching the affairs of Italy, but on account of his very cold and reserved manners it is not supposed that he will get on much in the world.

HOW THE EMPEROR'S MINISTERS STAND AFFECTED  
TOWARDS THE REPUBLIC.

As to the disposition of these Great Ministers towards your Serene Highnesses, if I were to judge from their *words* I should say it was friendly in the extreme, but seeing that they are “*Oltra montani*”\* and therefore by nature little favourable to Italians, especially to such as make them no presents, it is very possible that their feelings may differ from their expressions.

THE EMPEROR'S GENERALS AND HIS ARMY.

Whoever takes the trouble of following up the progress of the Emperor's warlike career, will find that his chief renown has been derived much more from the excellence and valour of his commanders than from the extent of his dominions or the great variety and richness of his possessions.

It was in the time of the Colonnas, the Pescaras, the Leyvas, and the Bourbons, that Kings and Popes were taken prisoners, that Italy was overawed and that the other grand events took place which your illustrious Council has witnessed.

But in this as in all other worldly matters sad changes have come to pass, and, with these Great Captains and their well-disciplined troops, much of Cæsar's glory had departed.

Who the men are that at present command his armies, what their merits, and what the esteem in

\* Transalpine, or “From beyond the Alps.”

which they are held by the Emperor, I will now proceed to relate. And my account may be the more safely relied upon by your Serene Highness since I had the opportunity of personal acquaintance with many of them during the late war.\*

#### THE EMPEROR'S CHIEF COMMANDERS BY SEA AND LAND.

The Emperor has three Captains-General — one by sea, who is the famous Admiral, Prince Doria : and two by land — namely, Senor Don Ferrante (Don Ferrand Gonzaga) and the Duke of Alva.

Don Ferrante is a very indefatigable man, trustworthy and faithful. He sleeps little, is most patient in reverses and personally brave ; but owing to his extreme reluctance in spending both his master's money and his own, he is constantly at fault respecting the enemy's movements, and has not acquired for himself either as many friends, or as much credit as he deserves. The soldiers dislike him, and the inferior officers entertain for him more fear than affection.

Nevertheless he is in high favour with the Emperor, as was shewn by his being given the place held by the Marquis del Vasto in Italy, as soon as it was vacant. M. de Granvelle is much his friend and patron ; nor does he fail to do the great man homage ; for during the late war he was in the habit of paying him constant visits, and giving him entertainments ; in return for

\* The Venetian Ambassador accompanied the Imperial army during the Campaign of 1544, against France.

which, the last time he was at Court Don Ferrante's opinion was requested on every subject of importance, not only concerning the affairs of war, but also those of peace. The said Don Ferrante has always shewn the greatest friendliness towards me, out of respect to Your Serene Highness.

#### THE DUKE OF ALVA.

The Duke of Alva has not been much employed in war, but the Spaniards say he is a man of parts and honour, and esteem him very highly; as indeed they are accustomed to do all their own countrymen. They say that he comported himself in a marvellous manner at the defence of Perpignan; and that whenever his military services are required again, he will shine forth with a still brighter lustre. This Duke is much beloved by the Emperor, and it is said that in case of war he will be appointed to the chief command.

#### PRINCE DORIA.

I can relate but little that is new concerning Prince Doria, since he is no longer young, and his services are so well known to your illustrious Council — but I will mention, that there exists no one, of whatever nation, for whom the Emperor has a greater regard.

His Majesty is well aware that he is indebted to him for Genoa — and for the power of passing so often from Spain into Italy, and from Italy into Spain, by which means many of his States have been preserved which would probably have been lost. Finally the Emperor acknowledges, that all his maritime renown is

owing to Prince Doria, whom he is in the habit of calling "*Father*."

Between the Prince (Andrea) and Sig. Antonio Doria, there is very little cordiality, but rather a secret ill-will and hatred, which has often tempted Antonio to sell and alienate his galleys, and take to land-service; deeming it impossible to get on at sea, on account of the Prince's jealousy.

#### THE EMPEROR IN TIME OF WAR.

To conclude this subject of the Captains-General, it is the received opinion that the Emperor has no better General in the army, than *himself*. He is full of spirit in undertaking difficult enterprises, and very brave and intrepid in carrying them on. He has given proof of these qualities in all his warlike expeditions; as well as of great presence of mind in foreseeing and taking advantage of every probable occurrence.

He attempted *Tunis* where he had to combat not only with men, but with the fury of the elements and the sterile nature of the soil — and I am told he was always the first to brave every danger. It is said that at *Algiers* the remains of the army were preserved only by his courage and constancy of soul. The three attempts upon the kingdom of France were his doing, and though they did not meet with much success, they proved the intrepidity of his spirit. In the last campaign, in which I myself was present, your Excellencies will hear, how the advancing to meet the enemy was his particular wish. Such gallant bearing on the Em-

peror's part, causes him to be much loved and esteemed by the soldiers ; and the more so as he is very exact in fulfilling his promises.

This Prince cannot dissemble the pleasure he experiences in time of war ; and whereas in towns and in common life he is heavy, grave, and severe, so in the camp he is all alive, active and mirthful. He is present in every place, sees everything, and forgetting that he is a great Emperor, he does the work of a subaltern or inferior Captain.

#### OPINIONS ON THE EMPEROR'S PRESENCE IN THE CAMP.

Many say, that this personal interference causes great inconvenience during a Campaign, on account of the caution which must be observed, lest the Emperor's person should be exposed to danger in any useless skirmish, or hazardous undertaking. They say this feeling cramps the energy of the commanders, and renders them much less enterprising than they would otherwise be. In short many of his subjects and especially the Spaniards, are of opinion, that the Emperor would do much better to stay at home.

They allege, that without moving from Spain his Catholic Majesty (Ferdinand of Arragon) won the Kingdoms of Naples, Granada and Navarre : besides taking several towns in Africa ; such as Oran, Bugia and others ; and they add, that the Emperor himself has been victorious whenever affairs of this kind were left to his Ministers.

Others again, say ; that considering the persons who now serve him and the quality of his armies, things would have gone much worse if he had not been present ; and they remark with justice, that a proceeding which may at one time be successful, will, at another time, utterly fail.

#### QUARTERMASTERS GENERAL.

There were two Quartermasters General in the Imperial army during the late war ; namely, S<sup>or</sup>. Stefano Colonna, and S<sup>or</sup>. Giovanni Battista Gastaldo.

The former was commended by all for his prudence and gravity ; but he himself not finding much to commend in a service where he deemed that he was treated with little consideration, preferred returning to Florence, as soon as the Duke could obtain a license for him to depart, on some pretext concerning Barbarossa.

#### GIOVANNI BATTISTA GASTALDO.

Gastaldo is esteemed a very practical man, and one possessed of correct judgement. His naturally good understanding has been improved by a great deal of experience, since his apprenticeship in war was served under many famous Captains, and especially under the Marquis de Pescara ; whose likeness in gold he always wears on his breast.

He discourses well and eloquently about the things he has seen ; which are many, being a man of fifty years old. Yet his speech sometimes reveals too

freely what is on his mind, seeing that his long services to the Emperor have been but inadequately requited.

#### THE MARQUIS DE MARIGNANO.

The Marquis de Marignano is at the head of the Artillery department; he is reputed an excellent soldier, well versed in the affairs of war, very diligent and active; but too much inclined to seek his own benefit and advancement.

#### THE COLONNAS.

Camillo Colonna is esteemed more for the merits of his family, than for his own.

Pyrrho Colonna had no definite place in the army during the late Campaign, but served some months when the Emperor was in want of men. He professes to be very religious, and is a good deal looked up to in the Council chamber. The fault attributed to him is warmth of temper.

#### DON FRANCESCO D'ESTE.

Senor Don Francesco da Este was Head Captain of Light horse. He is thoroughly well-bred, courteous and ambitious of rising in the world. There were four Captains under his Command. Scipio di Gennaro, a Neapolitan; Alessandro Gonzaga, a Mantuan; Captain Choué, a Greek, and Il Pozzo, a Milanese.

**COUNT FRANCESCO DELLA SOMMAGGIA.**

Not to omit any Italian of distinction, I must enumerate Count Francesco della Sommagia. A man of good understanding and excellent memory. He converses fluently, and possesses much solid information, but he would not undertake any definite charge in the army, knowing that he was suspected of favouring the French interest. The Authorities do not trust him ; and he himself confessed to me one day, that he believed the Emperor had only sent for him under pretext of asking his advice, in order to get him out of Milan.

**JEALOUSY OF THE COMMANDERS.**

Amongst all the Captains whom I have named, illustrious Prince, there exists an infinite degree of rivalry, or rather a concealed hatred, which often does irreparable mischief to the Emperor's cause, for many good counsels are overruled or set at nought by the dread that any one man should gain a superiority over the rest.

The greatest number have endeavoured to tempt me, either personally or by means of a friend, to get them into the service of Your Highness ; except Don Ferrante, and of him it was rumoured when he left the Court, that he was gone to Venice to try and obtain the appointment of Captain General there.

Besides these Italians who occupied the most important Posts in the army, there were Flemish, German

and Spanish Commanders. And here I must briefly remark, that if the above mentioned rivalry existed between the Italians, being all of one nation, it rose to a much higher pitch between these different, and unfriendly ones; who, rather than acknowledge any priority of information in each other, would often prefer to remain ignorant of the favourable chances which fortune might throw in their way, or purposely allow them to escape.

#### FLEMISH, GERMAN AND SPANISH COMMANDERS.

The *Flemings* are, the Duke of Arascot, the Count de Büren, the Count d' Agamon, Mons<sup>r</sup> de Stratas, Mons<sup>r</sup> de Budarda, Mons<sup>r</sup> de Bassi and others who, if they *really knew* as much of war as they *think* they do, would *be* the great generals they wish to pass for: but in truth, living as they do in Flanders, in a continual course of eating and drinking, they are fit for little else. Notwithstanding which, they stand high in the Emperor's favour.

Of *Germans*, the chiefs of the Cavalry are: Duke Maurice of Saxony, and the Marquis of Brandenburgh, both high spirited young men, but so proud and ungoverned, that they will submit to no controul.

There are four German Colonels of Infantry: Count William de Fürstenberg, Col. E....., George of Ratisbon, and Christopher Edembergh. All four are esteemed very brave, but they are imprudent, and do not know how to act the part of experienced officers.

Of *Spaniards*, I will name the three most distinguished: Don Alvaro di Sandos and Luis Perez, leaders of the veteran Spanish soldiers, and Basco di Cugna, commander of those who were last brought from Spain.

Don Alvaro is considered a brave and spirited leader, with perhaps too good an opinion of himself, for he boasts that if he alone had been placed at the head of 40,000 Spaniards he should have come off victorious.

Basco di Cugna is said to understand the art of war much better. In a word, he is a “Captain of olden times.”\* He was present during the Italian wars of Maximilian, and at Verona.

I can only add to this brief survey, that few of these officers join the service with a view of acquiring glory, or of serving their Prince. Each is full of his own private interests, and comes to the war only for the sake of enriching himself with the spoils of the enemy, or with the money of his master.

#### OF THE SOLDIERY WHICH COMPOSED THE EMPEROR'S ARMY.

The Emperor has employed in these wars, both cavalry and infantry from Upper and Lower Germany as well as from Italy; but only infantry from Spain.

#### THE GERMANS.

Of all these nations the best paid and the least available is the German.

\* “Capitano del tempo anticho,”

The insolence of this nation is almost incredible. They are impious towards God, and cruel towards their neighbour. I myself saw, in the French war, how they turned churches into stables, and destroyed or burned with fire the image of our crucified Lord. They are insubordinate, proud and drunken. Few of them are worth anything, and many are quite insupportable, but all try to domineer over every one else. They are fearless of death, but can neither foresee, nor take advantage of any passing occurrence. In the assault of a city, where much skill and dexterity is required, they are the worst people that can be : and in case of a skirmish their interminable baggage is always in the way. They are most impatient of hunger and thirst, and will insist upon being paid at the appointed moment ; not enduring any reserve or reduction of salary in the course of a long campaign, but pertinaciously demanding every farthing as long as the war continues. And since it is impossible that on such occasions there should not sometimes arise a scarcity of money or of provisions, the commander who depends mainly on this people will be exposed to serious vexation ; and will find himself deserted by them, without any chance of remedy.

The same character applies to the German cavalry. They are armed in two modes ; the greatest number are clad in steel after the fashion of *men at arms*, and carry a lance and a sword. They are mounted on horses which have a particular pace, or slow trot ; just as the foot soldiers of this nation have a particular style of

march. Their saddles are very low, and are made with two crossed bars of iron against which they rest their backs ; these saddles have the appearance of being very ill-adapted to support a man firmly in his seat during the shock of an encounter.

The remaining number of these horsemen are similarly equipped and mounted, but they carry in addition a small arquebuss, and have a sword and a boar-spear hanging at their sides and attached to their saddle.

These men were very much feared by the French, on account of their being, as it were, *doubly armed* ; since they could do some damage by firing off their guns *first*, and the instant after be as fully prepared for an encounter as all the rest.

#### THE BELGIANS.

The natives of the Low Countries are not by nature good soldiers, owing to various causes. In former times indeed, they were deservedly reputed strong and warlike ; for whilst Belgic Gaul was uncultivated and full of swamps and marshes, the natives partook of a wild, hardy and intrepid character. But now that the Country has become commercial, and is filled with beautiful and luxurious cities, the ancient valour has degenerated.

I must however, mention as an exception, those Belgians who were in the service of the Prince \* of

\* René, First Prince of Orange of the House of Nassau. He died (unmarried) in June, 1544, from a wound received at *St. Disier* : and his cousin William Count of Nassau succeeded to his title.

Orange, and who deserve to be reckoned the very best soldiers in the Imperial army. The whole credit of making them so was due to the Prince ; for he took the greatest pains in selecting the men, shewed the greatest interest in their training, and was extremely liberal in rewarding them ; often giving them additional pay from his own private income.

Hence arose, on their part, the sincerest affection for the Prince, and the most perfect subordination and readiness to encounter any amount of fatigue or danger without a murmur. It often occurred at the end of a long day's march that these men would be ready to mount guard on the commissariat stores, or to relieve some detachment or even to go out and reconnoitre the country. Not only would they cheerfully turn out of their night's quarters at the Prince's order, but so popular was he among them, that they would run with the greatest alacrity after the little poney on which he scampered at their head !

After the death of the Prince, this company broke up. A part left the service, and the rest instantly began to degenerate. So great is the importance of energy and good conduct even in one individual, and such the power of exertion and perseverance in conquering the defects of nature !

#### SPANISH SOLDIERY.

The Spanish soldiers are very patient, and from the activity and suppleness of their movements are alert at a skirmish or at the taking of a town. They are quick of

apprehension, vigilant and united amongst each other; prone to magnify their success, and to make light of their reverses; courteous in speech and bearing, especially towards inferiors; temperate and sober; and fond of shew in their dress, although they are avaricious and greedy of gain. They are not by nature soldiers, but seem to learn the profession very soon; for the excellent Spanish troops who distinguished themselves in the Emperor's service, were entirely formed by the wars in Italy; and those who last came from Spain and served in the French campaign, did not even know how to keep the step when they first arrived. The Emperor cannot find many Spaniards to serve him for any length of time out of their own country; for since the navigation to the Indies has become so easy, all those who are forced by necessity to become soldiers, would rather engage in the Indian service, where less of fatigue and danger is combined with a better chance of making money. This is the reason that, notwithstanding all the pains taken in His Majesty's name to collect a body of 6000 Spaniards against France, hardly 3500 were raised, and those of the very lowest description. And further, these people seem to prefer serving in Italy to any other part of Europe out of Spain; first because so many of their countrymen have returned *rich* from thence, and secondly because so much of it belongs to the Emperor, that they can almost fancy themselves at home there.

## ITALIAN SOLDIERY.

The Italian soldiers are spirited and courageous, but proud and insubordinate. They are so badly paid by their Commanders, that they have often been driven to mutiny, and to seek for better masters, and more reasonable terms.

Many have abused and condemned them on this account, who, from being their own countrymen, ought to have given them some support and assistance.

However their *absence* during the last French campaign, seems to have turned more to their renown than the many honourable deeds hitherto performed in the Emperor's service; for the distinction they won on the previous year at the taking of Düren,\* (where they entered the town when least expected and when the cause had nearly been given up as desperate) is now universally admitted as a proof, that had but 2000 Italian soldiers been present on the late occasion, the Emperor would never have lost St. Disier; which loss, as Your Excellencies know, was the cause of reducing him to accept such humiliating conditions of peace from the King of France.

The Italian cavalry consisted of light-horse, commanded by the Captains whom I have already named; all of whom treated their men so ill, that they could retain none but those of the worst description, and all badly mounted.

\* Düren, a town belonging to the Duchy of Cleves and taken by the Emperor, August, 24th 1543.

**HOW THE EMPEROR STANDS AFFECTED TOWARDS  
THE OTHER SOVEREIGNS.**

To discover the genuine feelings of the Emperor towards other crowned heads, is no easy task; for nothing in this world can be more hidden and obscure than the heart and mind of man generally, unless it be *the heart and mind of an Emperor, which may be deemed all but impenetrable!* . . . This much may be received as a general proposition, that Kings and Princes *neither love nor hate anybody*, except as they stand affected towards their own personal advantage; which truth may be perspicuously exemplified in the Emperor, who has been both a friend and a foe to every one by turns.

He was at one time an enemy to the King of England, and afterwards entered into an alliance with him. He made war unceasingly upon the King of France for twenty years, and ended by concluding a friendly treaty and by giving up Milan to him. To the Lutherans he has appeared sometimes in the light of a friend, and sometimes in that of an enemy. Of the Pope he has often said the very sharpest things, and yet after all has done as much for his advantage as even Your Highness. With regard to our own Republic, one may fairly presume, that as long as he considers our alliance profitable he will retain it—but no longer. At the present time he is well aware that the friendship of Venice is serviceable, both for the preservation of his Italian States, and for the purpose of keeping the Turks in check. He will there-

fore remain on good terms with Your Highness, of whom he has always spoken to me in a most affectionate and respectful manner. And besides the resolution of Your illustrious Council not to accept any of the various proposals made by the most Christian King, has been more grateful than I can express, both to His Imperial Majesty and to all his friends.

The Emperor has discoursed, not only to myself but to others who have repeated it to me, of the great dependance he places on Your Highness; and when I was taking my leave of him, he spoke at such length on this subject, than I began to marvel when he would stop. He told me he was extremely well satisfied with my services, inasmuch as he believed that I had done, and would do, every thing in my power to keep alive the good feeling subsisting between you; and then turning to my Secretary he said, *that he hoped for no less on his part also.* The Emperor believes that this illustrious Republic has no intention of ever turning against him, and it is quite possible he may be sincere in his wish of keeping on friendly terms with us. Yet, I would not advise Your Highness to trust implicitly to his professions, should any occasion offer when the contrary might become advantageous to him.

All Princes are naturally opposed to Republics, especially those princes who have most power, and most ambition.

**TOWARDS THE POPE.**

Not to quit Italy, I will next speak of the Emperor's disposition towards the Pope. This Potentate is to be regarded in two lights ; first, as the head of our Religion, and secondly as a temporal Prince. In his spiritual capacity, he has always been treated by the Emperor with due respect ; so much so, that though offended by him, he has foreborne to take that vengeance which he might have done, and which is always in his power. Your illustrious Counsel knows to what I refer ; how the Pope shewed himself inclined to the French side, and how he endeavoured to make certain changes in Italy ; all which was looked upon with so much the more displeasure at this Court, since *Duke Ottavio\** having married a daughter of the Emperor's, the very opposite course had been expected. The Pope and the Emperor now appear perfectly united on the subject of the Lutheran heresy ; but I know for certain that little affection exists between them, and that very small credit is attached at the Imperial Court to the promises of the Pontiff.

**TOWARDS THE DUKE OF FLORENCE.**

The Duke of Florence is as popular at the Imperial Court as any Prince of the present day. He has impressed on the mind of all men, that his fate is bound

\* Ottavio Farnese, Grandson of Paul the Third, who married Margaret a natural daughter of the Emperor, and received the investiture of the Duchy of Parma on the death of his father.

up with that of the Emperor, and that he is completely dependant on him, which he well knows is the best way to keep himself safe. At the time of the Emperor's reverses in Italy, he came forward to his assistance with men and money; and at present nothing is said or done at Florence which is not communicated to the Emperor, and advised by him. For all these reasons the Emperor bears this Duke much affection; his Ministers are well received at the Imperial Court, and are informed of everything they wish to know.

#### GENOA.

There is no doubt, that the Emperor's influence will be exerted to keep matters as they are in this state, for inclined as they are to the French interest, any change therein would turn to the prejudice of Prince Doria, and consequently of the Emperor.

#### MANTUA.

The affairs of Mantua are easily summed up. Don Ferrante being on its account raised to the high station he now occupies. The most Rev<sup>d</sup>. the Cardinal having placed his hopes of aggrandizement upon the Emperor, the state of Montserrat being also dependant upon him, and the new Duke about to be united to the daughter of the King of the Romans; all this clearly proves that Mantua is in high favour, and can have no other wish than to follow in all things the course which his Imperial Majesty may deign to point out.

## TOWARDS THE DUKE OF FERRARA.

The Duke of Ferrara does not stand very high with the Imperial party, because he is supposed to incline towards France on account of his marriage ; and also because they say he ought to have proved himself more grateful for Modena and Reggio, which were conferred upon him. His Ministers have told me in confidence, that the Duke is accustomed to say to his intimates. ‘I have no intention of placing my Duchy in peril, either for the Emperor, or for any one else !’

## TOWARDS THE DUKE OF URBINO.

The Emperor appears to take the well-being of this Duchy very little to heart, for he and his ministers have vouchsafed nothing but fair words and promises to the Duke of Urbino, in return for his many embassies and messages ; notwithstanding the great respect he shows for his Majesty by professing not even to conclude his own private affairs without the Imperial sanction.

## TOWARDS LUCCA AND SIENNA.

Lucca and Sienna being very feeble towns, and entirely dependant on the Emperor, are of course regarded by him as a part of his property, and he will support their present government, seeing that nothing but hatred and ill-will would result to him from any change. They are, however, looked upon with great suspicion ; being, as your Highness is aware, in so unsettled a state, and so divided amongst themselves, that an insurrection may be looked for at any moment.

The Agents of Lucca have told me, that should their liberties become endangered, they intend giving themselves up to Venice as a last resource.

TOWARDS THE “ULTRAMONTANE” KINGS OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND.

The Emperor is but little inclined to affection for either of them.

With regard to the King of France, he has sufficiently exhibited by his constant wars and interminable quarrels, how much he considers him an obstacle in the way of all his designs.

The King of England gave him just cause of offence by repudiating the Queen; and the treaty of peace lately concluded between that Country and France has by no means tended to allay so natural a feeling. Concerning the said peace I may remark, that it took place *only* because the two Kings suspected the Emperor of trying to nourish dissensions between them.

Thus the King of England deems himself aggrieved by the Emperor, and the Emperor by the English King, whom he accuses of having broken the agreement made with Don Ferrante, and especially of having deserted him on the late occasion in France when he was moving towards Paris, after the siege of St. Disier.

The English Ambassador told me, that his King having now made peace with France, would henceforward be more cautious and wary in trusting to the fair speeches and promises of others.

However, be this as it may, the Emperor will dis-

semble and keep on good terms with both these Kings, until the affairs he now has in view are accomplished ; and the fact of his having a son and a daughter to marry, will enable him to negociate as long as he pleases with their Majesties ; since they also are intent upon providing suitable alliances for their children.

In addition to this, the English king will certainly incline to the peaceful side, on account of his trade with Flanders and the Low Countries ; and M. de Granvelle will do his best to maintain an amicable feeling towards France, for private as well as public reasons.

M. de Granvelle takes into consideration, that the Emperor is in feeble health, besides, being like all of us, mortal ; and that whether he or his master die first, their children will probably succeed to their possessions.

Further, being, like a wise man, aware, that those who have been high in favour with one Sovereign, are rarely or never liked by his successor, and that he himself possesses but little the esteem of the Spanish nation, which nation is all in all with Don Philip ; he naturally aims at securing the friendship of the Most Christian King ; in order that he or his family may some day look forward to a permanent abode on their own property, which is in the middle of France.

#### TOWARDS THE KINGS OF PORTUGAL AND POLAND.

These two Kings are regarded by the Emperor in a most favourable light ; since besides the family ties

which connect him with both, he looks to Poland for assistance against the Turk, and to Portugal for an additional Kingdom.\*

#### TOWARDS THE KING OF THE ROMANS.

The Emperor professes great affection for the King of the Romans, and seems to consider *his* interests as his own. When they met for the first time at the Diet of Spires, the King having remarked to his brother that he had become grey and was looking worn, the Emperor replied, “*Por vos, Hermano, et por vestros hijos*” (“for your sake my brother, and for your children.”)

It was in preference to his own son, that Charles obtained for him the election of King of the Romans; and truly, whatever further greatness he may help his brother in attaining, that brother has well deserved.

At the time of the disturbances in Spain Ferdinand's name was continually brought forward, and his presence much desired in that Country; yet though he received constant invitations to this effect he never took the least notice of them: and every other action of his life has similarly proved, that he not only loves the Emperor as his brother, but reveres him as a father, and obeys him as a sovereign.

It is certainly a remarkable thing to witness the

\* The Kingdom of Portugal was annexed to the Crown of Spain several years afterwards, in the reign of Philip II. through an assumed right of inheritance from his Mother (the Empress Isabella) which was supported by the victorious arms of the Duke of Alva.

union of these brothers in heart, who are so different in temperament, habits and manner.

The Emperor is slow and phlegmatic, the King quick and choleric. The Emperor grave and inflexible with all men, the King affable and obliging even to a fault.

'The Emperor entirely concealing his ambition, the King letting it appear on all occasions.'

#### TOWARDS THE GRAND TURK.

The Emperor's hatred towards the Ottoman Empire is well known. It is probable, that he formerly entertained hopes of crushing and overcoming this Power, since he always gave out, that his highest aim and object was to do so, but I think he has now given up the scheme as an impossibility, and is fully intending to conclude a treaty of peace.

Should this also prove unsuccessful, he will be constrained to have recourse to arms, in defence of his own kingdoms, and of what is left of his brother's.

The fact of his having sent messengers to Constantinople, after concluding a peace with the French King, notwithstanding the discredit it brought upon him, and the umbrage it gave to all Christendom, must be a strong proof to any one acquainted with his nature, that he looked upon a war with the Turk as desperate.

He is now more than ever blamed for having joined with the Most Christian King and the King his brother, in offering terms of compromise to his greatest

foe, against whom he always professed to wish for an opportunity of exerting his strength, as in a righteous cause and for the glory of God.

Some however, excuse this proceeding by the plea, that it was necessary to have an agent on the spot in order to make sure that Francis kept his promises ; and further, that the negociation afforded an opportunity of spying out the Grand Seignor's forces, and of endeavouring to wean him from the French alliance.

I believe a third reason might be given for the said truce, namely, that he was even then meditating the enterprise against the Lutherans which is now talked about, and of which I was secretly informed ten months ago, as I mentioned at the time in my letters to your Excellencies.

Those who returned from the Mission to Constantinople, openly depreciated the power of the Grand Seignor as much as possible ; but I know for certain, that the Emperor is of a different opinion, and that during his last conference with the Pope, he said to His Holiness : 'I am beginning to fear, that God intends us all to become Mahometans ; but I shall certainly put off my conversion to the very last ! . . . .

#### GERMANY AND THE WAR AGAINST THE PROTESTANTS.

Concerning the Emperor's disposition towards the States of Germany, every one is at present certain, that war is in contemplation.

Your Highness will perhaps expect me to say a

few words on the causes and probable results of this war, and to enumerate, as far as I am able, the forces with which it is designed to be carried on.

The causes which are said to have moved the Emperor to this, are ; first, the little regard which the German States have for some years past shewn to his orders, by not attending the Diet ; and secondly, the fear that the heresy which infects some of them, should spread over them all, and finally pervert his dominions in the Low Countries, which are the chief sources of his greatness. That there is some ground for this fear is proved by the fact, that in Holland and in Friesland more than 30,000 persons have suffered death at the hands of justice, for Anabaptist errors.

Some eminent men also in Flanders and Brabant, are beginning to leave the Catholic church ; for which reason His Majesty's Confessor, and a Spanish Dominican Monk, both of whom exercise great influence over him, have never ceased to urge him on to this.

I believe that if it comes to war, this enterprise will assume a more vehement and sanguinary character than our age has yet witnessed. The Princes of Germany have never liked Charles V. ; probably because he continually avails himself of their counsels, without treating them in the deferential and considerate manner, which Maximilian and all the former Emperors accustomed them to expect.

They complain, that blindly led by passion, he has wasted his power in disputes with his fellow Christians, instead of turning it to account against the Turk, as

was his duty ; that he is now about to make war upon themselves, who by choosing him for their Emperor, brought him more glory and renown than he ever derived from anything else, and that under the pretence of religious zeal, he intends to conduct a foreign army into Germany, to trample on their ancient liberties.

In short, if this war *does* come to pass, it is likely to be a very fierce one ; and even should matters stop short of it, I question whether the rest of Germany will ever get over the hatred it has conceived for the House of Austria. The Duke of Alva has already been proclaimed Captain General, and most people think that the Emperor will join the army in person. Some say otherwise ; but I am persuaded that he cannot refrain from being present wherever war is going on.

#### PROBABLE RESULTS OF SUCH A WAR.

As to the probable issue of anything so uncertain as war, I will venture no opinion. Those who are favourable to the present undertaking, assert : first, that it is the cause of God and must prosper : secondly, that the *free cities* will not venture to give the promised help to the Landgrave as head of the League, on account of the benefits they derive from trade in the Emperor's dominions ; and thirdly, that the Lutherans have no good leader, and that German troops are useless except in a pitched battle, which the Emperor would take care to avoid. Those who are against the war maintain, that there never was a more dangerous en-

terprise both for the Emperor and for all Christendom ; and more especially for Italy. That with regard to religion, should he be able speedily to force the Protestants into submission and to impose certain conditions upon them, these might be observed as long as his army was present, *but no longer*. That should the war continue any time, the Turk would certainly come down upon him by sea and by land, either spontaneously, or at the invitation of the Protestants themselves. That the hostility of France and England would be excited, who, suspecting him of covering ambitious designs under the cloak of religion, would come to the relief of the Protestants by invading his territories wherever they lay contiguous to their own.

That the Emperor cannot expect to conquer such enemies in the space of two years, which is quite as long as his army could possibly hold together ; whilst the parties to the League of Smalcalde might, with very little expense or trouble, go on for many more, with a numerous and powerful body of men, all fighting for the religion which they are persuaded is the best, and which they are ready to defend with their lives and fortunes.

And lastly, that should the Lutherans be emboldened by any successful resistance against the Emperor, they would presently turn their arms against Rome ; where knowing that the Pope desires no less than their utter and complete extirpation, the warfare would be carried on with a degree of fury, resembling rather the incur-

sions of the ancient Barbarians than anything else ; and would finally result in no advantage to any party except that of the Turk.

#### THE EMPEROR'S DISAPPOINTMENTS IN LIFE.

From all these reflections, and many others, the Emperor finds himself much distressed and perplexed in his mind. In comparing his past and present fortunes, the review is far from inspiring. In his early youth he had the command of such Generals and armies as might almost justify him in contemplating the empire of the world ! And he now finds himself in a painful and embarrassing position, without having effected so much as the humiliation of his natural enemy the King of France ; even though he once had him a prisoner in his own power. On the contrary, he cannot but feel, that the French King will leave his son the Dauphin, in a higher position than Don Philip ; or at least fully equal to him in power. And that notwithstanding his many losses, so large a part of Piedmont and Savoy are added to his territories, that he is able to assume a more powerful standing, than any King of France has yet done.

The Emperor is also much disheartened by the necessity of giving up all hopes of conquest over the Turk, and even of condescending to solicit a truce with him. He sees himself involved in a perilous and important war with Germany, from which there appears to be no escape consistent with his honour.

With all this, he feels the approach of age, and the

increase of his infirmities of gout and asthma, which are gradually wasting away his strength and energy, and nearly depriving him of the hope of being present in person at any future enterprize.

In short I have been told by one, intimately acquainted with his sentiments, that his wish and intention is to retire into Spain for the rest of his life, and to resign all public affairs to his son.

#### CONCLUSION.

From what I have witnessed in the course of my Embassy, illustrious Prince, I cannot but add my tribute of praise to that wisdom which prompts your Highness to avoid war as the worst of evils. With a small force no great enterprise can be achieved; and a large one brings with it incredible trouble and waste both of time and money. Besides which, innumerable preparations are necessary; and should but the smallest of these fail, the destruction of the whole scheme may ensue. It is for this reason, perhaps, that I have seen the Emperor use the utmost deference and caution in addressing himself to the lowest German soldier in the army. On the late occasion, the Emperor had for the two years been planning an abundant supply of victualling, and intended to have kept a friendly country in the rear of his army; and yet both these objects failed at the very beginning of the campaign; and, together with a deficiency in the number of pioneers, which is a very important branch of the army, were the cause of the lamentable results of which

Your Highness has been already informed. Wherefore let us fly from war with all its expenses, disasters and ruin ! and should this illustrious Republic be unfortunately constrained to have recourse to hostilities, let them be carried on *as far as possible away from home*. The soldiers who defend a country often do quite as much harm as those who invade it. It was said by many Frenchmen that *the King's* soldiers had damaged France much more than the Emperor's ; and yet, I should think nothing could well have been worse than the destruction and misery caused by the latter !

Peace, illustrious Prince, peace is my counsel. And now, what can I say more on this subject, save to rejoice with your Excellencies, that our state is so valiant and so strong, that we may hope to keep possession of it without interruption. And although the changes of this world have constrained many States which once were independent, to acknowledge the three great heads of Empire, *the Turk, the Emperor and the King of France* ; yet from what I know of the Imperial armies, our Republic may keep up a good courage. Though Düren was taken unexpectedly, they could not conquer Landrecy.

They did not even attempt Guise ; and if St. Disier could detain them so long, what chance would they have with any of the fortresses of your Serenity ; the smallest of which is stronger than can be found anywhere else.

Let us have a due regard to the Faith of our people. Let us defeat the malignity of those who are always

running after change — and then, in dependance first on the Grace of God, and secondly, on the wise Government of Your illustrious Council, we may hope to see our Republic as flourishing as heart can desire.

During my absence from Venice, I met with three other Ambassadors from Your illustrious Senate. Two of them on a mission to His Highness the King of the Romans, and the third being my distinguished successor at the Imperial Court. The virtues and abilities of the most noble Domingo Moresini, and Lorenzo Contarini are already well known to your Highness ; but it may not be unpleasing to your Excellencies if I add my tribute to the high name and reputation which the said Moresini acquired at the Court of the King of the Romans, as well as at that of the Emperor. I am persuaded that the most noble Contarini, my successor, is about to acquire the same distinction. Having conversed with *his magnificence* on many high and important subjects, I have found him most zealous in Your Excellencies service, and possessing qualities worthy of the representative of our illustrious Republic at the Court of so high, mighty and virtuous a Prince as the Emperor ; where all the great ones of the earth resort.

Of my own conduct during the last *thirty-four months* I will say but little ; it being a dangerous thing for a man to speak of himself ; but if I have given Your Highness and this illustrious Council any satisfaction, I thank God for having fulfilled my most ardent wishes.

When I was about to leave the Court, His Majesty the Emperor sent me *this chain*, which by the just laws

of our illustrious State belongs of right to Your Highness, and cannot be mine without the special permission of this illustrious Council. Nor do I venture to demand it on account of the many hardships I have experienced in the public service. Yet in this cause I have often suffered both hunger and thirst in the late campaign, and have slept on the bare cold ground when the baggage-waggons were left behind.

I have also braved death by passing through places infected with the plague, and have seen eight of my servants die by my side ; to say nothing of four mules, and two horses, which formed nearly all my stud. I would rather that your Excellencies heard from others than from myself, how the greatest part of my property has been spent in serving the Republic, and upholding its credit.

All this is no more than every good citizen is bound to do, and to suffer for his country. And had it pleased God to take away my life during my last illness, which lasted four months, and cost me more than 500 ducats, I would have resigned it willingly, knowing that my life was spent in the service of Your Highness. Nevertheless, as I said before, not on this account would I venture to request this gift, were it not for the infinite clemency of your illustrious Council, which not only gives me a hope, but even a certainty of obtaining it.

I even think that your Excellencies, out of regard to your own honour and dignity, will lament that the gift is not *greater*, in order that it might relieve my wants more efficaciously.

By me it will be highly prized as an earnest that my services have not been unacceptable ; and further as a means of defraying a part of the debt incurred in this embassy, which I have not otherwise the power of repaying, save with my own person, or with *the assistance* of your Excellencies.



THE  
ITINERARY OF THE EMPEROR  
CHARLES V.,

ORIGINALY WRITTEN IN FLEMISH  
BY HIS PRIVATE SECRETARY VANDENESSE.

COMPRISING  
AN ACCOUNT OF THE EMPEROR'S JOURNEYS  
FROM THE YEAR 1519 TO 1551.



THE  
ITINERARY OF THE EMPEROR  
CHARLES V.

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1519.

IN January, 1519, King Charles went from Saragossa to Barcelona. During this journey, the news of the death of the Emperor (Maximilian, his grandfather) was brought to him, but kept secret for some time, and not made publicly known, until the ceremonies occasioned by the nomination of the Knights of the Golden Fleece were over; after which the obsequies followed.

From Barcelona, M. de Chievres, and Mercurin Gattinara, formerly President of Burgundy, who had, during the preceding year obtained the place of High Chancellor, vacant by the death of Sauvaige, with many other lords and prelates, were sent to Montpelier, all in deep mourning, and forming a procession of 1,500 horses. Their negotiations with the French deputies were, however, cut short by the fatal illness of the Grand-Master de Boissy.

The first news of His Catholic Majesty's election to the Empire, was brought over by Della Sanche, on the part of the royal ministers. It is well known that the Count Palatine Frederick came in the name of the electors to wait upon the new Emperor at Molin de Rey, where he had taken refuge from the plague broken out at Barcelona, after having been detained there, by the Cortes of Catalonia more than ten months.\*

## 1520.

On the 25th of January, 1520, Charles left Barcelona for Corunna, passing through Burgos, Valladolid, and St. Jago in Galicia. He reached it on the 4th of May, and found there the Prince of Orange.

The Emperor embarked at Corunna, on the 20th May, landed at Dover on the 27th, and from thence on the coast of Flanders. His Imperial Majesty arrived at Flushing in Zeeland on the 1st June, at 4 o'clock in the afternoon. Announced by the Regency at Innspruck on the 9th of June, 1520.

## 1521.

In October, the Emperor Charles travelled with the Stadholderinn to Germany for his coronation, leaving the Archduke Ferdinand in the Netherlands. He arrived on the evening of St. Andrew's Day at Spires, where the

\* Compare Robertson's History of Charles V. vol. II. p. 78.

first Diet was held. About this time the Archduke went to Austria. Here the High Chamberlain M. de Chievres died.

## 1522.

On the 6th of July, 1522, the Emperor arrived at Santander in Biscay, and remained there till the 27th, on the night of which he slept at Molgar. On the 28th he came to Urenosa, on the 29th to Tremezen, and on the 30th and 31st remained at Urquillara del Campo; reached Dorera on the 1st of August, spent the 2nd and 3rd at Vigard, and the 4th at Musgne; on the 5th he entered Valencia. On the 25th of this month the Emperor came to Carbasson, and on the 26th to Valladolid, where he remained till the 2nd of September. Here M. de Beaurain brought him the result of his negociation with the Duke de Bourbon.

On the 2nd of September the Emperor arrived at Tordesillas, and here solemnized the obsequies at the tomb of his father, King Philip I., which was afterwards transferred to Granada.

On the 4th of October the Emperor returned to Valladolid, and went to Valbona on the 23rd.

On the 26th he returned again to Valladolid, and remained there till the month of April in the following year.

On the 1st of November, the feast of All Saints, the Emperor on leaving the church, ascended a throne in the open air, and announced before the assembled mul-

titude a general amnesty to all engaged in the late revolt, with the exception of some of the principal offenders.

## 1523.

From the 1st to the 8th of April, the Emperor was at Valbona ; from the 8th April to the 9th May at Valladolid. He then went to Tordesillas ; on the 16th he returned to Valladolid, and remained there till the 13th of June ; on this day he went again to Tordesillas, and on the 14th to Medina del Campo.

On the 17th he returned to Tordesillas, and on the 21st was again at Valladolid. From the 21st June to the 24th August, the Emperor remained at Valladolid, during which time, Eleonora, his eldest sister, now widowed Queen of Portugal, arrived. On the 25th of August the Emperor went to Duguas, remained from the 26th to the 29th at Torquemada, and from the 29th of August to the 14th September at Arkos. On the 15th he arrived at St. John, on the 16th at Villorada ; on the 17th at St. Domingo ; on the 18th at Nagera, and on the 19th of September at Logrogno, where he stayed till the 9th of October. On this day he moved to Arkos.

On the 16th, the Emperor Charles arrived at Estriolles in Navarre. He passed the 11th and 12th at Ponte de la Negara, and remained from the 13th October, 1523, to the 2nd of January, 1524, at Pampeluna. From thence the Constable of Castile as General, and the Prince of Orange, as Colonel of the Infantry, were sent to Fontarabia.

1524.

On the 2nd of January the Emperor went to Sigada, on the 3rd to Valvatiera, and on the 4th to Vittoria, where he remained till the 7th of March and then came on to Miranda. From the 8th to the 10th he stayed at Birbiesin, and from the 11th of March to the 21st of April, at Burgos. From the 21st to the 30th he stayed at St. Pietro, and then returned to Burgos, where he remained till the 9th of May. At this time the Prince of Orange and several Burgundian noblemen set out on their journey to Italy, to meet the Duke of Bourbon.

They embarked at Barcelona, but fell into the hands of the French at Villa-Franca, whose fleet they had mistaken for Imperial galleys. On the 9th of May the Emperor went to Lerma, and returned to Burgos on the 12th.

On the 21st of July he came to Lerma again, and left it on the 24th for Vallidesole, went to Torquemada on the 25th, passed the 26th and 27th at Duenas, and arriving at Valladolid on the 28th of July, stayed there till the last of September.

In this place he was attacked by a quartain fever which did not leave him for five months.

From the last of September to the 4th of November he remained at Niaga\* (Anyaguia), where the marriage of his fourth sister, the Princess Catherine, with the King of Portugal, was solemnized.

\* *A la Chartreuse d'Anyaguia*, there exists a letter of the Emperor, of the 4th and 24th of October, dated Tordesillas.

On the 4th of November he was at Medina del Campo, on the 5th and 6th at Renola on the 7th at Pare, on the 8th at Lespinas de Signonia, and on the 9th and 10th at Guadarama. From the 11th of November till the end of this year he staid at Madrid and in the adjoining Park.

## 1525.

From the 2nd to the 7th of January the Emperor amused himself in the hunting district of El Pardo ; and after his return from thence, he staid in Madrid till the 4th of April. On the 5th of April he left it for St. S de Guadalupe, arrived the same day at Maynda, and on the 20th at Valderassa, where he staid till the 23rd. On the 24th he was at Toringes, on the 25th and 26th at St. Ollala,\* and from the 27th of April to the 1st of September, at Toledo, on which day the Emperor arrived at Pinto, and on the 2nd at Villoreda ; on the 3rd he came to Guadarama, and staid from the 4th to the 16th of September in Segovia and its neighbourhood.

On the 16th he came to Foye, on the 17th to Boitraque, and on the 18th to Madrid, to visit the King of France, who, according to the report of his physicians, was very ill. On the following day the Duchess of Alençon, the King's sister, arrived ; the Emperor received her on the staircase, and conducted her to the sick bed of Francis ; after which, the Emperor again departed, leaving the Duchess with the King, her brother.

\* In a writing of the Emperor's, this place is called Olyas.

This evening, the 19th, the Emperor slept at Cetafe; on the 20th he proceeded to Iliescas, and on the 21st of September to Toledo, where he remained till the 13th of October. Here also the Duchess of Alençon arrived, accompanied by several French gentlemen. On the second day after her arrival, the Queen Eleonora of Portugal, after a conversation with her, travelled from Toledo to Talavera; upon which the Duchess, having staid a few days longer at Toledo, left it for Madrid, and from thence returned to France, without having brought the treaty to any conclusion.

From the 13th to the 21st of October, the Emperor staid at Aranjuez; but from the 22nd of October to the 11th of February of the following year, he remained again at Toledo.

### 1526.

On the 14th of January the treaty of Madrid was concluded.

About this time the Duke of Bourbon came to Toledo, where the Queen Dowager of Portugal, after having left off her mourning, and being affianced to the King of France, also arrived from Talavera, and was met by the Emperor and the Duke of Bourbon. The latter took his leave on the 12th of February, to return to Milan. The same day the Emperor slept at Iliescas and remained there on the 13th.

On the 14th he went to Madrid, and on the 18th accompanied the King of France to Tiriton.

On the 20th of February they came together to Iliescas,

where they paid a visit to the Queen Eleonora and Queen Germaine de Foix, accompanied by the Countess of Nassau and other ladies, who received them upon the stairs. They then went into a saloon, where the four sat down under a canopy, and were engaged in conversation, whilst the ladies of the Court amused themselves by dancing. The two monarchs then took leave, and returned together to Tiriton. On the 21st, in the afternoon, the Emperor and the King went in a litter to Iliescas to take leave of the Queens, and then returned to sleep at Tiriton, at which place the two sovereigns parted.

The Emperor went once more to Iliescas, and the Grand-Master of Rhodes took his leave there. In this place the Viceroy de Lannoy was made Count of Ast; and soon afterwards M. de Rœux was appointed First Equerry.

On the 23rd of February the Emperor took leave of his sister, the Queen of France, who remained at Iliescas, and pursued his journey towards Seville, where the Princess of Portugal, his affianced bride, was to be on the 9th of March. The first night of this journey the Emperor slept at Santa Clara.

On the 24th of February he came to Talavera, and on the 25th to Aropeso, where he staid till the end of the month. On the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd of March, his Majesty was at Tone; on the 4th at Madrigal, where he remained till the 8th, and on the 9th made his *entrée* into Seville.

At the well-known marriage festivities M. de la Chaux opened the ball.

During the residence of the Court at Seville, the King of Portugal arrived on a visit. Here also was solemnized the marriage of the Duke Ferdinand of Aragon with the Queen Germaine de Foix. The same was also appointed Viceroy of Valenza.

On the 13th of May the Emperor was at Carmona, on the 14th at Fuentes, on the 15th at Assise, from the 16th to the 24th at Cordona, on the 27th at Calder, from the 28th of May till the 4th of June at Santa Fè, and from the 4th of June to the 26th of August at Granada. Here the Viceroy of Naples arrived on his return from France, and was sent by the Emperor to his government, in company with several noblemen.

On the 27th of August the Emperor was at Santa Fè, and on the 28th again returned to Granada, where he resided till the 10th of December, with the exception of a short time (from the 17th to the 20th of October) passed at Santa Fè. On the 10th of December the Emperor came to Alcala la Real, on the 11th to Märtos, on the 12th to Gaen, the 14th to Bayossa, the 15th to Ande, the 16th to Bissa, the 17th to Allos Palatros, the 18th to Santa Croce, the 19th to Magro, the 21st to Somanda, the 22nd to Toledo, where he staid till the 30th, on the 30th to Aranjuez, and on the 31st to Occaña.

### 1527.

On the 1st and 2nd of January the Emperor Charles remained at Occaña, on the 3rd he came to Aranjuez, on the 4th to Mora, and on the 5th to Madrid. From the 6th to the 8th he was at El Pardo, on

the 9th at St. Augustin, on the 10th at Boitrapo, and on the 12th at Hominesiera, where he staid till the 16th; on the 16th he proceeded to Castelli, on the 17th to Hontenilla, on the 18th to Niago; here he remained till the 23rd, and from the 23rd to the 7th of February he was at Tordesillas; on the 7th he went to Segalla. From the 8th of February to the 24th of August the Emperor staid at Valladolid, when the Chancellor Gattinara returned from Italy. Here, on the 22nd of May, the Crown Prince (Philip II.) was born; but the festivities occasioned by this event were interrupted by the news of the Duke of Bourbon's death,\* whose obsequies were held at the Imperial residence. On the 24th the Emperor went to St. Martin, on the 25th to Villapendro; from the 26th of August to the 10th of October he was at Valenza; on this last day he came to Valdesole; from the 12th to the 17th of October he staid at Lerma, and passed the rest of the year at Burgos.

## 1528.

From the 1st of January to the 20th of February the Emperor continued at Burgos. On the 20th he went to Lerma; on the 22nd and 23rd he was at Pentezilla; on the 24th at Pignafide, on the 25th at Lazaretto, where he staid on the 26th and 27th, and passed the 28th of February at Castelnoto. From the 1st to the 8th of March he staid at Portvago; on the 8th he came to St. Augustino, and resided from the 9th of March to the

\* At the siege of Rome.

22nd of April at Madrid. On the 23rd he was at Mailory-Dorio, the 24th at Tordesillas, the 25th at Villa de Caruelo, the 26th at Bonagos, the 27th at Capillos, the 28th at Requena; on the last of April and 1st of May he was at Brignol, on the 2nd at Doerta, and from the 3rd to the 20th of May at Valenza, where his Majesty held a public entry, and many ceremonies took place.

On the 20th the Emperor came to Maluarda, and on the 22nd to Villa-Reale, on the 23rd to Conagos, the 24th to St. Martin, the 25th to Mereli, the 26th to Halwignot, the 27th to Saspar, the 28th to Vafa-eloros, the 29th to Alcanaerda, and remained from the 30th of June to the 20th of July at Montison.

On the 21st of July the Emperor came to Pardriguera, on the 22nd to Falmon, and remained from the 24th to the 26th at Saragossa. On the 27th he was at Moelo, the 28th at Calacabur, the 29th at Riso, the 30th at Medina-Celi, the 31st of July at Sigonienca, the 1st of August at Sidrach, the 2nd at Guarda-Boiaraa, and from the 3rd of August to the last of October at Madrid, and then went to Toledo.

### 1529.

On the 8th of March the Emperor went from Madrid to Aranjuez; on the 10th to Isson, the 11th to Alcala, the 12th to Maldegonia, the 13th to Giotta, the 14th to Sidrach, the 15th to Siguesca, the 16th to Medina-Celi, the 17th to Rich, the 18th to Cathalayat, the 20th to Hispa. From the 24th till the 17th of April he staid at Saragossa; on the 18th he went to Bergeleros, on the

19th to Franqua, the 20th to Lareda, the 22nd to Velponio, the 24th to Sernera, the 25th to Ygolada, the 26th to Madama de Monteforte, the 27th to Molina del Rey; from the 28th of April to the 27th of July he remained at Barcelona, and there embarked for Bologna, where his coronation was to take place. The Lord Steward (*Oberst Hofmeister*), Count Pont de Vaux, staid behind at Barcelona, and died there; whereupon the Seigneur de Rœux obtained his place, and Count de Montfort became Master of the Horse. On the 29th of July the Emperor reached Palamos, and remained there till the 2nd of August; he then embarked, and landed at Villa-Franca, near Nice, on the 5th.

The Emperor Charles remained at Manono on the 6th and 7th, and on the 8th went to Madona di Pietà; from the 9th to the 12th he was at Savona, whence he dispatched M. de la Chaux to the King of France on the subject of the ratification of the Treaty of Cambray, who, after having concluded this affair, returned to his home in Burgundy, where he soon afterwards died. On the 12th the Emperor came to Genoa, and remained there till the 30th. Here he was welcomed in the name of the Pope by four Cardinals, with Cardinal Farnese at their head.

On the 30th of August the Emperor continued his journey from Genoa, and passed by Monastero. On the 31st he passed Borgo de Fornari; on the 1st of September was at Gauio, on the 2nd at Tortona, on the 4th at Voghera, on the 5th at Castell St. Giovani, and on the 6th arrived at Piacenza, where he staid till the 24th of September. Here we was met by Admiral de Brior,

named Chabot, sent by the King of France to receive from the Emperor the confirmation of the treaty of Cambray.

On the 24th the Emperor arrived at Fiorenzola, on the 25th at Borgo St. Daino, and was at Parma on the 26th, where the Grand Chancellor, Gattinara, received his nomination as Cardinal. On the 28th the Emperor came to Reggio, where he was waited upon by the Duke of Ferrara.

On the 1st of October the Emperor was at Modena, on the 4th at Alla Certosa, and on the 5th arrived at Bologna, where the Pope already was.

Here the Emperor received the iron crown from Cardinal Cinque Porte, who had been appointed thereto by the Holy Consistory, and was crowned with the Imperial diadem by the Pope himself. This last ceremony was performed on the Festival of St. Mathias, and M. de Rœux was created a Count upon the occasion.

The Emperor continued at Bologna till the 22nd of March, 1530, during which time the Emperor's father-confessor, the Bishop of Osma, received the Cardinal's hat.

### 1530.

On the 22nd of March the Emperor passed by Castelfranco, on the 23rd by Correggio, and on the 24th by Gonzaga, on his way to Mantua, where he staid from the 25th of March to the 20th of April, and raised the Margravate of Mantua to a Duchy. Here Count de Montfort, Master of the Horse, died.

On the 20th of April the Emperor came to Peschiera, on the 21st to Dolca, the 22nd to Ala, the 23rd to Roverbella. From the 24th to the 28th he was at Trent, on the 28th at Neumarkt, the 29th at Botzen, the 30th at Brixen, the 2nd of May at Sterzing, the 3rd at Matrey, and the 4th at Innspruck, where Cardinal Gattinara died, and the Imperial Seal was given to M. de Granvelle. On the 5th of June he came to Schwatz, where 14,000 miners were paraded before him. On the 7th he was at Kufstein, the 8th at Rosenheim, the 9th at Valley, and from the 10th to the 14th at Munich; on the 14th he came to Bruck, and on the 15th of June to Augsburg, where he attended the second Diet in person, and remained till the 23rd of November.

On his journey back to the Netherlands, the Emperor was informed of the death of the Arch-Duchess Margaret at Cologne, and had her obsequies held there. There also his brother Ferdinand was elected King of the Romans.

### 1531.

On the 7th of January the Emperor and the King of the Romans went to Vergham, on the 8th and 9th they were at Juliers, and on the 10th at Aix-la-Chapelle, where the coronation of the King of the Romans took place. He remained behind at Aix-la-Chapelle, while the Emperor continued his journey, and on the 15th of January slept at Maestricht, was at Liege on the 16th and 17th, at Namur on the 21st, and, from the 28th of January to the 13th of March, staid at Brussels; from the 13th to the 16th of March he was at Louvain, from the

17th to the 20th at Malines, on the 20th at Antwerp, on the 24th at Ghent, on the 3rd of April at Teremond, from the 4th of April to the 26th of November at Brussels, and from the 28th of November to the 12th of December at Dornach, where the Emperor held his third Chapter of the Golden Fleece. On the 12th the Emperor returned to Ast, on the 13th was at Eggen, and remained from the 14th of December to the 17th of January of the following year at Brussels. Here M. Jean de Hainn, Seigneur de Bosse, was appointed Master of the Horse, M. de Rie chief butler, and M. de Peloux a chamberlain. His Majesty assembled the States of the Netherlands, presented his sister Queen Maria to them as their new governess, made all the arrangements necessary for the administration of the several provinces, and took leave of the States.

## 1532.

On the 17th of January the Emperor took leave of his sister who remained at Brussels, and betook himself to Louvain, on the 18th he went to Diest, on the 19th to Tongres, on the 21st to Maestricht, on the 23rd to Aix-la-Chapelle, and on the 24th to Juliers. From the 25th to the 29th he staid at Cologne, on the 29th he was at Bonn, the 30th at Andernach, and on the 31st of January at Coblenz. On the 1st and 2nd of February he was at Boppart, on the 3rd at Bergbingenheim, and from the 4th to the 9th at Mayence. On the 9th he went to Birhos, the 10th to Neuschloss, the 13th to Heidelberg, the 15th to Vichingen, the 16th to Stuttgard, the 17th to Schorndorf, the 18th to Gemünd, the 20th to Dofined,

the 21st to Dünkelsbühl, the 22nd to Gengenbach, the 23rd to Stein, the 24th to Neumarkt, the 26th to Sesenburg, and the 27th to Linnflecken. From the 28th of February to the 8th of September he was at Ratisbon, and assisted at his third Diet. During the journey, the Emperor had severely wounded his foot out hunting. On the 8th of September the Emperor went to Staubing with the King of the Romans. On the 9th to Osterhofen, on the 10th to Passau, and on the 4th of October arrived at Vienna. He left it on the 13th of November for Bologna, and remained there till the 28th of February of the ensuing year.

### 1533.

On the 28th of February the Emperor went from Bologna to Modena, on the 2nd of March to Reggio, from the 28th of March to the 9th of April he remained at Genoa where he embarked to return to Spain. On the 10th the Duchess of Savoy with her eldest Prince went on board ship at St. Remo, but was obliged to disembark on the 11th, because she could not endure the sea.

The Emperor continued his voyage with the Prince as far as the environs of Marseilles, where Count de Trede, Governor of the province, and Captain Jonas, offered their services in the name of the King of France, invited his Majesty to Marseilles, and waited upon him with refreshments; and, as he would not leave the fleet himself, they feasted the Marquis del Guasto, the Commendator Major d'Alcantara, and several others very sumptuously in the town.

As soon as the wind was favourable, the Emperor continued his voyage, and on the 21st of April reached the coast of Roussillon, where he landed with the Duke of Alva, the Count of Benevent, and some gentlemen of his suite, and taking post-horses, strove to join the Empress at Barcelona ; the rest of the fleet followed on the 15th of May, and every one remained there till the 10th of June. On the 19th of June the Emperor returned again to Barcelona, on account of his consort's dangerous illness. On the 8th of July he went back to Montison, and there remained till the last of December.

### 1534.

On the 15th of January the Emperor came to Madrid, on the 12th of February to Toledo. On the 20th of July he was at Morad, on the 22nd at Portillo, the 24th at Val St. Martino, from the 27th to the 5th of October at Palenzia, and from the 10th of October to the 2nd of March of the following year at Madrid.

### 1535.

On the 2nd of March the Emperor was at Alcala, and from the 13th of March to the 18th of May at Saragossa, at which place the marriage between the Count-Palatine Frederick\* and Princess Dorothea of Denmark took place.

\* His first and unhappy attachment was to the Emperor's favourite sister, Eleonora, who became Queen of Portugal, and afterwards Queen of France, and between these marriages was Bourbon's intended bride.

His Majesty went to Barcelona, to commence the expedition to Barbary, and re-establish the King of Tunis in his dominions, which had been forcibly usurped by Barbarossa, who had disturbed all that coast.

On the 1st of May Doria arrived at Barcelona with twenty galleys; Alvaro de Bassan with the twelve Spanish galleys, a little after the Viceroy of Granada appeared with fifty ships, five caravells, and a galley which the King of Portugal sent to the Emperor's assistance. On the 20th of March Charles assisted in person at the review of his nobles, of whom there were 1,500. On the 3rd of May he embarked in the fleet at Majorca, and on the 3rd of June arrived at Mahon a small place in Minorca. On the 10th the Emperor was overtaken by a violent storm; and his fleet was so completely dispersed, that on the 4th no one ship knew anything of the rest.

On the 12th the whole fleet assembled at Cagliari in Sardinia, where 12,000 men, Germans, Italians, and Spaniards, were embarked, in addition to the same number which was already on board. Here he was joined by so many ships, that his Majesty reached Carthago, in Africa, on the 6th of June, with three hundred sail. As the history of the conquest of Tunis is already so well known, I will here confine myself to relating that the Emperor returned to sleep in his ship on the 17th of August, and on the 22nd landed at Trapani in Sicily, where he remained till the 1st of September, and on this day came to Arcamonta. From the 3rd to the 12th he remained at Montreal, and then till the 13th of October at Palermo. The States of Sicily, who held their meeting here, voted

the Emperor, besides the usual tribute, 150,000 ducats, payable at three stated periods. Here, also, Don Fernando de Gonzaga was left behind as Viceroy.

From the 21st of October to the 2nd of November the Emperor remained at Messina. On this day he crossed the Faro, and slept in Calabria.

From the 25th of November to the 22nd of March, 1536, he staid at Naples, where many tournaments and other festivities took place. At Naples he received intelligence of the deaths both of the Duke of Milan and of the Queen of England. At Naples also was celebrated the marriage of Alexander de Medecis with the Emperor's natural daughter, Margaret, Duchess of Parma, and that of Philip de Lannoy, Prince of Salmoda, son of the Viceroy Miegoval, with Izabella Colonna, Duchess of Trajetto, the widow of Louis de Gonzaga.

### 1536.

On the last day of March the Emperor entered the States of the Church at Terracina, where he was met by an Archbishop and three Bishops sent by the Pope.

On the 1st of April he arrived at Veletri, and found the Cardinals Trivulci and St. Severine ready to receive him. On the 2nd of April the Emperor came to Simonette, the property of the family of Orsini; on the 3rd to Arena, belonging to Ascanio Colonna, where the Cardinals Farnese and Santa-Fiora came to meet him in the name of the Pope. On the 4th he arrived at St. Paulo, near Rome, where twelve cardinals made their appearance, and on the 5th at Rome. Outside the town his Majesty

was met by the consuls, the nobility, and *bourgeoisie*, the clergy, and Papal Court, and all the cardinals, except two that remained with the Pope, who received him on the steps of St. Peter's Church.

On Easter Sunday, the 16th of April, his Majesty assisted at the solemn Papal mass, and joined in singing the Evangelium.

On the<sup>a</sup> 17th of April, in the presence of the Pope, the College of Cardinals, the Ambassadors of France and Venice, and many other Lords and Prelates, the Emperor made the celebrated speech, in which he reviewed the conduct of the King of France since the beginning of his reign, and offered him either a permanent peace or a single combat, the prize of which was to be Burgundy or Milan for the conqueror.

On the 18th of April the Emperor took leave of his Holiness, and departed, accompanied by the body of cardinals, as far as the boundary of the States of the Church. He passed the night at Monte-Rosa.

On the 21st he was at Aqua Pendente, on the 22nd at Peruggia, and on the 23rd at Monasterio near Siena, where the Lord Steward,\* Count de Rœux, joined him.

On the 27th the Emperor was at Siena, where the Cardinal de Lorraine arrived on a mission from the King of France, and the same day departed again for Rome; this night the Emperor slept at St. Cassiano, and on the 20th arrived at Florence. His Majesty was met on the journey by Duke William of Bavaria, the Duke of Brunswick, and the Margrave of Brandenburg.

\* Oberst Hofmeister.

On the 4th of May the Emperor went from Florence to Pistoja, and on the 5th to Lucca, where the Cardinal de Lorraine arrived on his return. On the 13th he came to Volari, from whence the Cardinal went back to France; on the 14th to Pontremole, where the Bishop of Châlons met him; and on the 16th to Fornovo, where Don Francesco, brother to the Duke of Ferrara, entered the Imperial service

On the 26th of May, the Emperor was at Asti, from whence, Volley, the French Ambassador, was escorted by an Imperial trumpeter to the frontiers of France. Hither came also the Count-Palatine Philip, the Duchess of Savoy and Mantua, and the Count-Palatine de Saluz, who, from having been in the French service, now returned to his natural master. On the 22nd of June the Emperor broke up at Asti, and came to Alva; on the 23rd to Savigliano, where he was met by the Cardinals Trivulci and Caraccioli, the first of whom was appointed Papal Legate to the King of France, and the second to the Emperor. Here also M. de Likerté returned from the French Court, where he had been Imperial Ambassador. From Savigliano a detachment of troops was sent to besiege Turin. The Emperor also laid siege to Fossano, where M. de Montpesat was obliged to surrender, and, with his garrison, obtained a free passage to France. At this time George Capusman was taken prisoner by the French, along with three hundred Light Horse. He entered the French service, was re-taken at Terouane in 1537, and beheaded at Vilword. After much deliberation, the expedition against France was here determined upon, and

commenced with a very considerable force. The Emperor passed by Nice, and came to St. Lorenz in Provence, where the whole force, both of sea and land, was assembled, and a great council of war concerning their future operations was held. Before he began his march, the Emperor was informed that the Prince of Melphi and Salerno had taken Antibes. Doria took up his night-quarters in the same country, and then marched to Feria, where he received the report that Fernando de Gonzaga had fallen upon Messrs. Montezan and Boissy with three hundred lancers and six hundred Italian infantry under Paul Rienzo, at Brignoles, and had routed them. In consequence of this, the Emperor entered Brignoles on the following day, and passing by St. Maximin, came to Aix, where he encamped, and waited twenty-three days to see whether the King of France would not give him battle after having penetrated fifty-five miles into his territories. Meanwhile, Don Fernando de Gonzaga made predatory incursions as far as the gates of Arles.

The Emperor himself, wishing to view the position of Marseilles, went one morning to the gates of the town. He had only two persons with him, namely, d'Andelot and Captain Milort. Near the town they took three of the enemy prisoners. At this time, Antonio de Leyva, and in August Cesare Fregoso died. As nothing was to be heard of the approach of the King of France, and the winter was drawing near, the Emperor moved in regular order of march along the sea-coast to Genoa, where he remained till the 18th of November, and this day embarked for Spain. He lost several ships on the voyage,

and landed at Barcelona on the 26th of December ; from whence he joined the Empress at Valladolid, and remained there till April in the following year.

## 1537.

In the month of April the Emperor went from Valladolid to Montison, where the States were assembled. In the meantime, the King of France had taken Hesdin. On the other hand, the Flemish General marched from Arras to St. Pol, which he took by storm after six days, and where he left four hundred noblemen and men-at-arms ; from thence he went to Montreal, which capitulated, and afterwards besieged Terouane. The Emperor's two sisters, Eleonora, Queen of France, and Maria, widowed Queen of Hungary, Governess of the Netherlands, hereupon proposed the truce for nine months, which was discussed at Bonay, near Terouane, by the Imperial Commissaries de Molenbay and de Likerté with the French deputy, M. de St. André, and made known to the Emperor by the Bastard of Faillaix.

M. de Vely came to Montison on the part of the King of France, and concluded a truce of three months for Italy, during which interval M. de Granvelle and the Commendator Major of Leon were to go to Sienese as Plenipotentiaries on the part of the Emperor, and the Cardinal de Lorraine with the Constable to be at Leucata, on the part of the King of France, and to open their conferences at the French and Spanish frontier-town Caucgou de Eyton, for the purpose of concluding a lasting treaty. They held their first sitting on the 29th of December, and

after several meetings, agreed upon a continuation of the armistice for three months longer.

Meanwhile, the Emperor was to go to Villa-Franca ; the Pope, who worked very zealously for the promotion of peace, to Nice, and the King of France to Villa-Nova ; after this, the deputies returned home. From Montison the Emperor Charles went to join the Empress at Valladolid.

### 1538.

On the 1st of January, 1538, the Emperor arrived at Barcelona, and in February made a journey to the County of Roussillon. He passed the first night at Ragno, and the second at Esterlik, where the news reached him of the arrival of the Infant Don Louis of Portugal at Valladolid. The Emperor went through Girona and Figueras to Perpignan where he remained ten days. On his return he took the route of Elno, Coleber, and Gerona to Barcelona. The Infant also arrived at the same time, and remained about six weeks ; Cardinal Jacobasso likewise joined the Emperor in order to hasten his departure. On the 25th of April the Emperor embarked in a fleet of twenty-two galleys brought by Admiral Doria, in order to sail for Villa-Franca and early on Sunday morning reached Marseilles, where the evening before twelve galleys had gone to provide themselves with fresh water.

As soon as the Emperor arrived at the Straits of Roisette, twelve sails were discovered coming from Turkey, and bearing the crescent. An engagement instantly took place, in which some of these vessels were taken ; but it then appeared that the conquered galleys were the same

which the King of France had sent to Turkey. This being known they were immediately set free, and indemnified by a present of 1,000 dollars.

The Emperor then continued his course to Villa-Franca, and on the day of his arrival dispatched M. de Bossu,\* his master of the horse, with several noblemen to the Pope at Savona; who, the next day, sent the Duke de Castro to the Emperor, to make arrangements concerning the Castle of Nice, which had been promised in the conferences to His Holiness, but which notwithstanding, on account of the suspicions of the Duke of Savoy, had become the cause of difficulties which induced the Pope to take up his abode with the Franciscans before the town. Meanwhile the King and Queen of France had arrived at Villa-Nova.

The Emperor accompanied by all his suite, paid a visit to the Pope at his abode before Nice, and on the following day the King did the same, after which, M. de Granvelle and the Commandator Major on the part of the Emperor, and Cardinal de Lorraine and the Constable of France on the part of the King, were empowered to commence the negotiations in presence of His Holiness. One day, the Queen with the Cardinals of Lorraine and Chatillon, the Connétable, the Duke de Vendôme, and several French gentlemen, the Princesses, the King's daughters, the

\* The Emperor's affection for this youthful playmate is notorious, as well as the anecdote of his being wounded one day when out hunting, and the Emperor himself applying his lips to the wound to draw out the poison. Schiller has recorded this friendship in his noble picture of the bond between Don Carlos and Posa.

Duchesses of Longueville and d'Estampes and others, came in French galleys to visit the Emperor, who sent his whole fleet to meet them, and himself came to receive them on the shore. A bridge was here erected over an arm of the sea to facilitate the landing. As soon as the Queen with her ladies, the Emperor, the Dukes of Savoy, Mantua, Camerino, Abra-Vogera, Nagera, Alberquos, the Princes of Besignano, Salerno, and Sulmone were upon this bridge, it gave way under the weight, and all were precipitated into the sea, without, however, suffering the least injury from the fall. The Emperor had several interviews with the Pope in a pavilion, situated in a vineyard between Nice and Villa-Franca. At this time a Russian Ambassador, whom the Turkish Corsairs had captured and robbed, was brought to Marseilles as a present to the King of France. Count de Tenda, Governor of Marseilles, conducted him to the Emperor at Villa-Franca. A ten years' truce was at length concluded, which the Emperor confirmed on the eve of Corpus-Christi day, when the Queen, with a numerous retinue, came to Villa-Franca, and dined with the Emperor. The following day, after dinner, she returned to Villa-Nova, and towards 4 o'clock in the evening, the Emperor went on board his ship, and ordered the sails to be unfurled. At the same moment the Queen appeared off the entrance to the harbour of Villa-Franca, and they sailed in company together to Genoa. The Pope landed at Molo, and was carried into the Cathedral.

He passed the night in the Palace of Fiesco; the Emperor inhabited the Palace of Doria, and had a fit of

the gout ; the Pope visited him there, and they remained together for four hours.

On the following Saturday the Emperor came to take leave of His Holiness, and remained with him from 3 o'clock till 9 in the evening, during which time the marriage of Ottavio Farnese, a son of Peter Lewis, and grandson of the Pope, with Margaret, widowed Duchess of Florence, a natural daughter of the Emperor's, was determined on.

On Sunday the Pope embarked in the Imperial galleys commanded by Gianettino Doria ; who returned to Genoa on Monday. On Tuesday the Emperor went on board his fleet, in order to commence his voyage back, and in the roads of Nice, met with two French galleys in which were M. de Velly, and the Imperial Ambassador Chapuys, who came to the Emperor's ship ; after which, M. de Velly sailed back again with his two galleys and His Majesty continued his voyage. When he arrived off Toulon, he was seized with an illness which caused him to go on shore, and remain two nights under a tent. On the 30th he was able to resume his voyage. In the neighbourhood of Marseilles, near Nôtre Dame de la Garde, he was met by twenty-one French galleys, who, after salutes on both sides, accompanied the Imperial fleet.

As soon as it began to get dark, the two fleets sailed in company towards Aigues Mortes, and such a fog came on, that the galleys were in danger of running foul of one another, which actually happened to the Emperor's vessel,

but as they instantly came to her assistance no injury was sustained. On the other hand, M<sup>e</sup> de Granvelle's galley was much damaged. This fog did not clear off till 9 o'clock the next morning, and at about 10 the whole fleet arrived at Aigues Mortes; M<sup>e</sup>. de Granvelle's vessel alone being behind-hand, did not reach it till 12 at noon. The Cardinal de Lorraine and the Constable immediately presented themselves to welcome the Emperor's arrival.

After the midday repast, the King of France, accompanied by a few attendants, arrived in small vessels lined with tapestry to see the Emperor, and in about an hour's time took his departure. On the following day the Emperor (*seulement en petites bottines*) went with the Constable and the most distinguished men of his suite to Aigues Mortes, where the King and all his Court awaited him at the gates of the town, while the Queen with the Princesses and their ladies remanded to receive him in their apartments. The Dauphin also with the Duke of Orleans, and M<sup>e</sup>. d'Albret came from Avignon to meet him here. The Emperor spent this day, as well as the following one, at Aigues Mortes, and then took leave of the Queen and her ladies. The King, the Dauphin, the Duke of Orleans, M<sup>e</sup>. d'Albret and others accompanied him to his galley; where, having passed an hour together, they took their leave. Towards midnight the Emperor weighed anchor, but was obliged, on account of a storm, to return to the harbour, where the King and Queen, accompanied only by five ladies, visited him once more in his galley.

after dinner, and finally took their leave of him in the evening.

The Emperor continued his voyage in the night, and landed at Barcelona on the 18th of July.

On the 26th of July, 1538, the Emperor came to Valladolid, where the Empress was staying, and remained there till the 21st of September, on which day he betook himself to Toledo, which he made his chief residence till the 12th of May 1539, after having fruitlessly assembled the Cortez of Castile, in order to solicit assistance for a war against the Turks. At this time the Palatine Count Frederick, with his consort the Princess of Denmark, paid a visit to the Emperor.

### 1539.

On the 1st of May the Empress expired, after having, in the eighth month of her pregnancy, been delivered of a Prince, who immediately died also. She was left in bed till the evening, lying with her face uncovered, and her body not opened, as she had expressly desired.

The Emperor, who had not left her for a moment the whole time till she died, now went to the Jeronomites, without the walls of Toledo,\* where he remained till the 27th of June. On this day superb funeral rites were held, after which he went to Illescas, where he passed the night: the next day he went to a country-house near

\* It appears that even at this period of his life, he had entertained some thoughts of abdicating, and was inclined to the repose of a conventual life.

Madrid, where he remained till the 13th of July, and then entered the town.

At Madrid the Emperor received the news of the insurrection at Ghent, upon which the Prince of Orange, Count de Rœux, Messrs. Dostam and de Praet were dispatched thither with the greatest expedition. The Emperor himself, at the suggestion of the King of France, took the resolution of journeying by post all through France, and, with this intention, sent M. de Peloux to the King, and Don Loys d'Avila to the Pope.

After all the arrangements had been made in Spain, the Emperor sent M. de Granvelle to the King of France, at Loches, to await his own arrival there, and he himself set out on the 12th. He arrived at Valladolid on the 20th of November, and thence proceeded by post.

Amongst his suite were the Duke of Alva, M. de Bossu, Don Pedro della Custa (Lord Chamberlain), M. de Ryn (Sommelier du Corps), Count Egmont, Don Enriquez de Toledo, Messrs. de la Chaux, de Flagy, and Derbay, gentlemen of the chamber, two secretaries of state, a surgeon and barber, two valets de chambre, two cooks, two butlers and the postmaster. His Majesty had previously sent on the equerry, Dandelot, from Madrid, with twenty-five beautiful Spanish horses, destined as a present for the King Francis. The rest of his suite followed under the direction of the Baron Montfaucon, first Lord Chamberlain.

On the 21st of November the Emperor slept at Doigna, on the 22nd at Burgos, the 24th at Vittoria, the 25th at Culusetta, and on the 26th dined at St. Sebastian, where

M. de Vincent, the Imperial Minister at the Court of France waited upon his Majesty.

At Fontarabia, the Emperor was met by the Duke of Orleans, also travelling by post, and they took up their night-quarters together. On the 27th of November they passed the night at Bayonne, at which place the Dauphin, the Cardinal of Chatillon, the Constable, and several Princes and Gentlemen also assembled. On the 28th, at noon, they all together arrived at St. Vincent, and in the evening at Aix ; on the 29th, at noon, they were at Cartres, in the evening at Mont de Marsin, belonging to M. d'Albret ; at mid-day on the 30th of November they arrived at Cassefoix, and in the evening at Bassan ; on the 1st December they were at Langon, and from thence they sailed to Bourdeaux. On the 3rd, at noon, they came to Charbon Blanc, and at night to Adrien, On the 4th, at noon, they were at Camignan, and at night at Montluc. On the 5th, at noon, they came to Barbesiene, and at night to Château-Neuf in Angulemois. On the 6th, at noon, to Sourville, and at night to Verteur. On the 7th, at noon, to Chaueme, and at night to Connet ; on the 8th to Busignau. On the 10th, at noon, to La Roche, and at night to Loches, where the Cardinals de Bourbon, Lorraine, Lisieux, Tournon, Bologne, Masconne, Paris, Sevry, Chatillon and Gardy with the Princes and French gentlemen came to meet the Emperor.

The King, who at this time could not ride, awaited the Emperor at the entrance of the Château de Loches, attended by M. d'Albret, Duke Christopher of Würtemberg, and others. On the steps of the saloon the Em-

peror was received by the Queen, Madame d'Albret, the Dauphine, and daughter of the King, the Duchesses de Vendome, de Montpensier, de Nevers, and d'Estampes, with many other ladies, who, after greeting the Emperor on his arrival, ascended the steps into the saloon, and thence retired to their several apartments. On the 13th of December the Emperor, and all the company which had arrived with him, the King travelling in a coach, and the Queen in a litter, went at noon to a house called Pavillon ; at night they rested at Senochaux, and on the evening of the 14th they reached Amboise. Here, in the King's palace, there is a winding staircase, so constructed that you may ride on horseback up to the top of it. In the centre of this winding staircase a machine has been contrived, which, by burning slowly down to the bottom, was to have given light to all those who were riding up and down. No sooner, however, had the Emperor got half way up the staircase, than the whole mass suddenly caught fire, and (there being no opening at the top) occasioned such a dreadful heat, mingled with smoke, that the Emperor and all the persons present narrowly escaped suffocation, especially as the crowd below was so great that it was hardly possible to escape with sufficient haste. Still, however, no lives were lost ; but the King was so enraged at this awkward chance, that he would have immediately caused the man who lit the fire to be hanged, if the Emperor had not interposed to prevent it.\* On the 17th, at night, they halted at Blois. On the 18th,

\* Compare Gaillard, *Histoire de France*, tome iv.

the Emperor dined whilst out hunting, and supped at Chamburg. On the 20th they stopped at Orleans, on the 24th at Fontainebleau, on the 30th at Corbère, and on the 31st they went by water to the Bois de Vincennes.

## 1540.

On the 1st of January this distinguished assembly (Charles V. and Francis I., &c. &c.) rested at noon at St. Antoine des Champs, and in the evening arrived in Paris. The Emperor alighted at Notre Dame de Paris, and then proceeded to the royal palace, where the time was spent in festivities until the Feast of the Three Holy Kings. On the 7th of January the whole party went at noon to Madrid,\* and in the evening to St. Denis. On the 15th they reached St. Quentin, where the Emperor took his leave, and on the 20th left it, and came at noon to St. Martin, accompanied by the Dauphin, the Duke of Orleans, the Cardinal de Chatillon, the Connétable, the Dukes de Vendôme and de Nevers, and several other French gentlemen, and one thousand horses. At night they arrived at Cambray, and here his Majesty was met by the Duke of Archot, who was spokesman, the Prince of Orange, Count de Rœux, Master of the Household, Count Büren, the Prince de Chimay, Count de Bergen, Count d'Espinoy, M. de Beûre, Admiral, M. de Praet, M. de Brederode, the Seneschal de Hennegau, and other Flemish gentlemen; M. de Courieres, with the hundred archers dressed in deep mourning, and two thousand horses.

\* A pleasure house, built by Francis, and so called, in order to elude his promise of being at Madrid.

The Emperor dined with the Dauphin. On the 21st they arrived at Valenciennes, and were here received by the widowed Queen, Maria, and the Duchess of Milan, with a numerous suite, and entertained until the 24th, on which day the French Princes and gentlemen returned to Cambray, and were escorted thither by the Prince of Orange, the Duke of Archot, and others.

On the 26th of January the Emperor and Queen Maria came at noon to Bossy, and in the evening to Mons. On the 28th they came at noon to Rouex, and at night to Nitrels. The Emperor staid at Brussels from the 29th of January to the 9th of February, and then went to Ast. On the 10th he was at Teremonde, and on the 14th at Ghent; here he made his *entrée* on foot, accompanied by the Queen, many Flemish gentlemen, the *hommes d'armes*, and five hundred Germans. He remained at Ghent till the 12th of May.

Here thirteen ringleaders of the rebellion were beheaded, and a citadel was erected for the maintenance of peace in this turbulent city. During this time, Ferdinand, King of the Romans, arrived in the Netherlands, and the Count of Hogstraten died there. On the 12th of May the Emperor went to Vanlo, and on the 13th to Antwerp, where he met the Elector of Cologne. On the 25th of May the Emperor was at Lyern, on the 26th at Mechlin, the 29th at Louvain, the 31st at Vürn; the 1st of June at Grönendal, and from the 3rd to the 15th at Brussels; on the 15th at Teremonde, the 16th at Ghent, the 19th at Eschera, and the 21st of June at Bruges. On the 13th of July he came by sea to Flushing, on the 14th to Middleburgh,

on the 16th to Vern, the 17th to Terguso, the 18th to Zirisee, the 19th to Binstope, the 20th to Nieuherre, the 21st to Dordecht, the 23rd to Rotterdam, the 24th at noon to Delft, and at night to the Hague. On the 11th of August to Haarlem, the 12th to Amsterdam, the 14th to Utrecht, the 19th to Gorkem, the 20th to Hesden in Brabant, the 22nd to Herzogenbusch, the 23rd to Lierre, the 25th to Breda, the 27th to Bergen, the 29th to Antwerp, on the 30th to Mecheln, and on the 31st to Brussels, where the United States of the Netherlands had been convoked.

After his Majesty had made the necessary arrangements, the German affairs of the Empire were taken into consideration. In October M. de Granvelle went from Brussels to Worms, to attend the religious conference ; he arrived there on the 22nd of November, and made a long speech, recommending the restoration of Christian unity. On the 27th of October the Emperor arranged a promotion in the Order of the Golden Fleece, and arrived on the 29th at Alost, on the 31st of October at Ghent, on the 2nd of November at Udenard, on the 3rd at Gorkum, on the 5th at Dornach, the 7th at Lille, the 9th at Ypres, the 13th of November at Cassel, the 14th at Gravelines, the 15th at St. Omer, the 18th at Aire, the 20th at Béthune, the 21st at Alen in Artois, the 22nd at Arras, the 25th at Bapaulmeder, the 26th at Douay, and the 28th of November at Valenciennes.

On the 18th of December he came to Quesnoy on the 20th to Arennes, the 22nd to Beaumont, the 23rd to Flery, the 24th to Namur, the 27th to Senan, the 28th

to Manseen Famine, the 29th to La Roche, the 30th to Bastaigne, and on the 31st of December to Arlon.

## 1541.

On the 1st of January the Emperor was at Arlon, on the 2nd at Luxemburg, on the 8th he took leave of the Queen, and slept at Thionville-Dietenhofen, on the 10th he came to Metz, on the 13th to St. Anort, on the 14th to Salleburg, on the 15th to Steinbrugg, on the 16th to Kaiserslautern, on the 17th to Neustadt, and remained from the 18th of January to the 5th of February at Spires, where M. de Granvelle, having returned from the conference at Worms, met his Majesty.

On the 5th of February the Emperor came to Heidelberg, on the 23rd to Ratisbon, where, on the 26th of February, he paid a visit to the Duke and Duchess of Bavaria. Contarini also, the Pope's Legate, arrived at Ratisbon in the month of March. On the 10th of March the Count Palatine Frederick and his consort came to see the Emperor. On the 2nd of April, at six o'clock in the morning, the Cardinal Elector of Mentz arrived at Ratisbon, and the Emperor sent M. de Praet and the Bishop of Arras (the younger Granvelle) to meet him ; the Elector visited the Emperor on the day of his arrival. On the 5th of April the Emperor went to the cathedral with the States and his Court, and from thence to the Council-House, where he found the Saxon minister, the Landgrave of Hesse and others. When the Emperor had seated himself on his throne, and every other person had taken his respective place, the Palatine Count Frederick began an address in

the name of the Emperor, which was afterwards read to the end by the Imperial Counsellor Naves, and of which the Diet desired a copy. Doctor Eck, Gropperus and Julius Pflug, on the Catholic side, and Melancthon, Pistorius and Bucer, on the Protestant side, were commissioned to discuss some final settlement of the question, under the superintendence of the Count-Palatine Frederick and of M. de Granvelle. On the 12th of April the Elector of Brandenburg arrived, and was met by M. de Praet, with the cavaliers of the Court; the key of the Imperial cabinet was delivered to him as first Hereditary Chamberlain of the realm.

On the 4th of April the Emperor went to Straubingen, to hunt, and on the 1st of May passed the night at the Carthusian convent, where the anniversary of the Empress's demise was commemorated; and on the 2nd he returned to Ratisbon. On the 8th of May the Emperor supped with the Count-Palatine, the Countess-Palatine his niece, the Duchess of Bavaria, the Dukes of Bavaria and of Brunswick, and the Landgrave of Hesse. After the repast, the Prince of Salerno, Don Francesco d'Ast, Don Loys d'Avila, Messieurs de Condé and de la Chaux appeared in masks. On the 17th of May the Elector and the Margraves of Brandenburg, the Counts-Palatine Otho, Henry and Philip, the Landgrave and several princes came to the Emperor to demand justice against the Duke of Brunswick, who had kept his brother imprisoned nearly eighteen years.

His Majesty answered that this and other affairs would be taken into consideration as soon as the most important business was despatched.

The 26th of May being Ascension Day, the Emperor went to the Church of the Benedictines, where the body of St. Dionysius is preserved. A very evident dispute about precedence occurred upon this occasion between the Margrave, George of Brandenburg, the Counts-Palatine Otho, Henry and Philip, and the Duke of Brunswick, which was settled on the 1st of June. On the 28th of May the Theologians ended their conference, having settled the points upon which they could agree, and on the 31st of May, at ten o'clock in the morning, they had an audience of the Emperor, which lasted two hours. After they were gone, the Emperor held a council of several hours' duration with the Palatine, Count Frederick, Messieurs de Praet and Granvelle, and afterwards with M. de Naves; immediately after his dinner he received the Duke George of Bavaria, and then gave audience to the Elector of Brandenburg, the Margraves George and Albert, the Prince of Anhalt, the Duke of Luneburg and others; soon afterwards he received the Counts-Palatine together; and then the Elector of Mainz, by himself; and, lastly, had a conversation with the Pope's Legate.

On the 5th of June (Whit Sunday) the Emperor attended the high-mass, which was performed by the Elector of Mainz; here the Pope's Legate wanted to go first to the altar, which the Elector would not permit; the Emperor decided that the procession should be altogether given up, and he accordingly went alone to the altar.

On the 8th of June the Count-Palatine Frederick made, in the Emperor's name, a speech to the States, assembled

in the dining-hall, concerning a theological point which had been left unsettled, of which they required a written copy, and to which they returned an answer on the 9th. After this the Emperor, in the presence of the States, gave audience to the Austrian and Hungarian ambassadors, who came to ask for his assistance against the Turks.

On the morning of the 10th of June the States assembled in the Council-House. After dinner the Elector of Mainz, the Archbishop of Salzburg, the Bishop of Trent, the Dukes of Bavaria and Brunswick, came to the Emperor in the name of the States.

On the 11th of June, while at Ratisbon, the Emperor received intelligence from Naples, that the naval Captain, Don Garcias de Toledo, had made an expedition against Barbary, and conquered six places.

On the 13th the Landgrave (Philip of Hesse) took leave of the Emperor, who was well-pleased with him. On the 21st, at four o'clock in the morning, arrived the King of the Romans (Archduke Ferdinand, King of Hungary and Bohemia), who, on the 25th, appeared before the Emperor and the States, assembled in the hall, to solicit assistance against the Turks. On the 28th the Catholic States came to his Majesty and granted him eighty thousand florins a month, for three months to come, against the Turks; and on the same day the Protestants offered him a contribution of double that amount for the same purpose, and promised, if the preservation of their liberty of conscience were secured to them, to stand by him at the expense of their lives.

On the 3rd of July an assembly was held for the pur-

pose of obtaining speedy relief against the Turks, and in the afternoon his Majesty laid before the States his complaint against the Duke of Cleves, who withheld Gueldres from him.

On the 5th, his investiture of Pomerania took place with great solemnity.

At the convocation of the States of the 12th of July, the Emperor announced to them, through the Count-Palatine, that he had received intelligence of the movements of the Turks against Italy, and was in consequence obliged to go there in person; that he would depart at latest on the 24th, and that the Diet might make their arrangements accordingly, in case they had any business which they wished to bring to a conclusion.

The Duke of Savoy then requested an audience and assistance from the Emperor. In the Assembly of the 21st of July, the States requested a gracious audience for the Minister of Cleves, who had been sent concerning the investiture of their Prince with Guelders, to which the Emperor himself had some pretensions.

His Majesty replied that, whereas, during five months of his residence, the States had never been able to come to a conclusion on four or five points relative to the public welfare, and yet, in the case of his opponent, had suddenly made up their mind in three days, he, the Emperor, had no intention of coming to any decision in so short a space of time. On the 22nd of July the French Minister had an audience of the Diet concerning the affair of Savoy. The Assembly demanded a written copy of his statement before it could give an opinion, but at length came to the resolu-

tion of forwarding an intercession in favour of the Duke of Savoy to the King of France.

The Emperor had already dismissed all his household, but the chamberlains and the counsellors on the 28th of July, when the States appeared before him ; but finding that the affairs could not be terminated, he resolved to remain till the 29th, on which day the dissolution of the Diet took place to the satisfaction of all parties.

In spite of this good understanding, however, an unexpected occurrence soon afterwards gave rise to the formation of a Catholic league.

When everything was in order, the Emperor took leave of the Electors, the Princes and States, who afterwards came again to him, each separately, to bid him farewell.

The King of the Romans, and several other princes, escorted him for the space of a mile out of Ratisbon, and he then proceeded to Weinsberg, where he remained for the night at the Duke of Bavaria's, with the Dukes Otho, Henry, and Christopher of Würtemberg, and the Margrave of Baden.

On the 30th the Emperor came to Freysing, and on the 31st to Munich.

On the 1st of August the Emperor was at a *chasse* near Munich, and in the evening went to a supper given in a garden, but retired early, and sent costly presents to the ladies, as he had done at Ratisbon to the Countess-Palatine, the Margravine of Brandenburg and her daughter. On the 2nd of August the Emperor dined at Wollfahrts hausen, and slept at Benedictbayern. On the 3rd he came

to Mittewald, in the afternoon of the 4th to Seefeld, and in the evening to Innspruck.

At an hour's distance from the town he was met by two princes of the King of the Romans, and in the palace he was received on the staircase by six young arch-duchesses and the third prince, who was a baby in arms; the Emperor went to his apartment, escorted by the whole party, and giving his arm to the eldest arch-duchess, as the promised bride of the Polish Prince.

On the 7th his Majesty went from Innspruck to Sterzing, on the 8th to Brixen, on the 9th to Botzen, and on the 10th to Trent, where the Duke de Camerino, and afterwards the Bishop of Trent, came to meet him.

On the 14th the Emperor dined at Borghetto, on the confines of the Tyrol, where the Duke of Ferrara hurried per post to meet him.

His Majesty was met on the frontiers of Italy by one hundred light horse, two hundred mounted archers under the command of the Marquis del Vasto, and five envoys from Venice. The Emperor passed the night at Dolsco, in the neighbourhood of which the Senate had erected a bridge in the shape of a triumphal arch; on the 15th the Emperor was at Peschiera, and on the 16th at Modesta, where the little prince, with the Cardinal of Mantua, came to meet him.

On the 18th the Emperor came to Cremona, on the 19th to Pizzighetone, on the 20th to Lodi, on the 21st to Marignano, and on the 22d to Milan. Here his Majesty was met by the son of the governor of the castle, with two

hundred light horse, followed by the Marquis del Vasto on foot, accompanied by two hundred noblemen clad in blue damask, and two hundred more on horseback in complete armour, attended by two hundred light horse ; these were followed by all the noble vassals of the duchy of Milan on foot, attired in crimson silk and cloth of gold, and the counsellors on horseback in violet-coloured satin, also the university and the clergy.

The procession passed through several triumphal arches, and proceeded to the church, and from thence to the palace. On the 25th the Duke of Urbino and the Duke of Melphi came to the Emperor, who, on the 26th, inspected the castle.

On the 27th of August the Emperor and all his suite, with the Cardinals Contareno and Mantua, repaired to the cathedral, where he stood sponsor for the child of the Governor del Vasto. On his return, the Emperor found the dowager Marchioness, and all the ladies of Milan, in a saloon, where she had prepared a sumptuous banquet. On the 29th the Emperor was at Pavia, and on the 31st at Alexandria. On the 3rd of September he came to Genoa, and was met by the Duke of Florence, Prince Doria, and the Cardinals Grimaldi and Doria.

The Prince of Piedmont landed on Sunday, and on the 7th of September the Emperor sent M. de Granvelle to the Pope at Lucca. On the 9th the Duke of Savoy and the Prince of Piedmont took leave of the Emperor and departed for Nice ; on Saturday the 10th, at about five o'clock in the evening, the Emperor embarked, and, in company with seventeen galleys, directed his course towards Lucca ;

on Sunday, towards nine o'clock, he landed at Porto Venere, and attended mass in the convent. In the evening the Viceroy of Naples appeared with thirteen galleys, and paid his respects to the Emperor and the numerous company of nobles that were with him. At one o'clock in the morning the fleet put out to sea, and by daybreak on the 12th of September, arrived at Viareggio, where the people of Lucca received His Majesty under a triumphal arch, which was erected in the sea, and had prepared four hundred horses to be ready for his journey to Lucca. His Majesty was here met by the Duke of Ferrara, and half way on his journey by the Cardinal della Croce and others, on the part of the Pope. At the gates of Lucca all the Cardinals were assembled, and accompanied the Emperor into the cathedral, where they found the Holy Father in his Pontifical robes. After dinner arrived the Duchess of Parma, the Emperor's natural daughter.

On the 13th of September, at four o'clock in the afternoon, the Emperor, accompanied by all his Court, visited the Pope. On his way he was met by the Cardinals Farnese and Santa Flora, who conducted him to the Papal chamber, where he remained till seven o'clock. On the 14th the Emperor had another long conference with His Holiness; on the 15th the French Minister, resident at the Romish Court, and a nobleman, who had arrived per post from France the day before, had a morning audience of the Emperor. In the afternoon, and till late in the evening, His Majesty had another conference with Pope Paul III. On the 16th, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the Pope came in a litter, and paid him a visit

of five hours, accompanied by the Cardinals Borghese, St. Giacomo, Gambara, Farnese, Santa Croce, Santa Flora and Sambello, the Emperor advanced into the hall to receive him. His Majesty returned this visit on the 17th, and on the 18th, in the afternoon, took leave of the Holy Father, and left Lucca, and was accompanied by the Cardinals, who had all been present at the leave-taking, beyond the gates of the town.

The Emperor passed the night at Pietrasanta, and, on the 19th, came to Porto della Spezzia, where the Maltese galleys had arrived in the meantime. The Emperor made them a present of six thousand dollars.

On the 24th of September the Emperor sent M. de Granvelle to His Holiness, in order to refute the accusation of the murder of Fregoso and Rincon made against himself and his ministers, and to entreat that the Pope himself would be umpire in the inquiries made concerning this event; to this proposal, however, the King of France would not agree.

On the 26th of September His Majesty was present at the embarkation of the six thousand Germans in thirteen vessels, and on the 28th put out to sea himself, and, while getting under weigh, was joined by the six galleys from Genoa, commanded by Antony Doria.

On the 29th, at seven o'clock in the evening, the Emperor anchored off Corsica with seven galleys, and, the weather being very stormy, was obliged to remain there all day on the 30th of September.

On the 1st of October the Emperor attempted to sail towards Ponente, but was forced, by contrary winds, to

return to his former station, where he passed the day. On Monday the 3rd, he came to Porto di San Bonifaccio, and landed there; on the 6th, at noon, he returned to the galley, and set sail for Sardinia, and during the night, passed by the Island of Genere, which is only inhabited by stags and wild boars. On the 7th the Emperor landed at Porto del Ponte, went out hunting in the morning, and at noon returned to his vessel, and reached his town of Cagliari, which he entered in state, and where he passed the night. On the 8th the Emperor returned to Porto del Ponte, where the Neapolitan galleys had arrived with Don Garcias de Toledo; the fleet now consisted of forty-three galleys. On the 9th the Emperor sailed towards Minorca, and made a distance of three hundred miles in forty-three hours.

After midnight he sailed to Mahon, and, on the 13th, at nine o'clock in the morning, came to Majorca, where he met the Viceroy of Sicily with seven galleys and eight thousand Spaniards who had arrived from Italy in sixty vessels. There had also arrived six thousand Italians from Leghorn. On the 18th the Emperor reached the desert Island of Cabrera.

On the 19th, at daybreak, the Emperor passed the Golfo, came in sight of Barbary on the 21st of October, and, at seven o'clock in the morning, found himself seven miles distant from Algiers. In an hour afterwards the Spanish galleys joined his fleet, but, having left the store-ships thirty miles behind, they were compelled to turn back and fetch them.

As soon as nearly the whole of the fleet was assembled,

the Emperor sent Giannettino Doria towards Algiers, and in the afternoon, he himself and all his galleys anchored within cannon-shot of the town. Such a storm, however, arose in the night, that, fearing it would extend to the roads, the fleet retired fifteen miles behind the Promontory called Metaphuz. Here it remained till the 22nd, and people were sent ashore to get fresh water. On the 23rd, early in the morning, the troops were landed; the Emperor and his Court followed at nine o'clock, notwithstanding the vigorous efforts made by the Arabs to oppose them, and, advancing three miles inland, the Emperor pitched his tent at the foot of a hill. Towards midnight he was disturbed by a party of eight hundred Moors and Turks from the top of the hill, who could easily reach his position with their fire-arms. On the 24th of October the Emperor moved on to within a mile of the town. His Majesty and the nobility took post in a vineyard on the plain, the Spaniards were placed on a hill, the Italians by a bridge, and the Germans were distributed partly on the plain, and partly on another hill.

At about nine o'clock in the evening, wind and rain came on, and increased violently towards the morning, so that the storm, both by sea and land, was fearful, and the Emperor returned three miles nearer the shore, in order to endeavour to get more victuals and ammunition disembarked. This, however, it proved impossible to effect, and he went on five miles further towards the sea. On the 28th he marched through a swampy country, where he had a considerable river to pass, and was annoyed the whole time by the Arabs, both on his flank and rear.

On this day it was made known that the Duke of Alva had been appointed (*Oberst Hofmeister*) Lord High Steward. They afterwards reached Metaphuz, where the galleys which had escaped from the storm, were at anchor.

On the 1st of November (All Saints' Day) the embarkation took place; and on Thursday, the 3rd of November, the Emperor presented Doria with thirteen galleys, fitted out at Barcelona, and gave him the place of Protonotary at Naples, which produces a yearly income of 3,000 ducats, as an indemnification for the vessels he had lost. A fresh storm, which appeared to be coming on, induced the Emperor to leave this disastrous coast, after some of the ships of burden had been brought out of the roads of Algiers, and had got into the open sea. Five Spanish galleys were left behind, to tow out to sea the remaining vessels. The Emperor sailed the whole night in a tremendous storm, and on the forenoon of the 4th of November reached the harbour of his town of Bugia, on the continent of Africa. Here he was rejoined by the five Spanish galleys, which had been unable to assist the ships of burden still lying before Algiers.

At Bugia, the Imperial fleet was in imminent danger of perishing, either by the storm or by famine. On the 11th, 12th, and 13th, public processions were held, and prayers said for the averting of further calamities.

On the 15th the Emperor ordered a bastion to be erected at this place, already quite surrounded by the Moors: he also sent home the Viceroy of Sicily, and the

galleys from Monaco, Sinigallien, and Malta, which set sail on the 16th. In the afternoon of the 17th, the Emperor's galley rowed out of the harbour, but was forced, by contrary winds, to turn back.

Towards midnight, the Emperor made a second attempt, and got about eighty miles out to sea; but, on the 19th, was driven back again to Bugia, where he remained in his galley till the 23rd.

At ten o'clock at night, he at length got off, and landed at Majorca, on the evening of the 26th. On the 27th the Emperor sent Andrew Doria with his own, and afterwards Antonio Doria's and the Count d'Aquila's galleys back to Genoa. The Emperor embarked on the 28th, at four o'clock in the evening; on the 29th, at noon, arrived with fifteen galleys, at Porto di St. Antonio, on the island of Iviza; and at length, on the 1st of December, reached Carthagena, where he staid till the 5th, and that night slept at Musia.

On the 9th he went to Seisa, on the 10th to Elin, and on the 18th arrived at Occoiga, where the Princesses, his daughters, received him with inexpressible joy; and where also the Infante Don Philip had arrived with the Cardinal of Toledo. On the 31st of December the Emperor was at Toledo.

## 1542.

On the 1st of January the Emperor was at Toledo, and on the 5th at Madrid, from whence he sent off the Duke of Alva, to defend Navarre.

On the 26th of January the Emperor was at Valladolid,

where the States of Castile had been convoked; and on the 10th of February commenced the sittings. On the 26th of March the Bishop of London came to Valladolid, in quality of Envoy; and, on the 12th of April, had an audience of the Emperor, together with the resident English Minister; he also made some stay at the Imperial Court.

The meeting of the States of Castile was dissolved on the 4th of April, after they had voted 1,200,000 ducats to the Emperor.

On the 23rd M. de Granvelle returned, having with difficulty escaped the French galleys, which, for the space of several miles, had been firing at his vessel. On the 28th of May his son was consecrated Bishop of Arras. On the 27th of May the Emperor came to Burgos, where he was hospitably received by the Constable of Castile, and detained by indisposition till the 2nd of June.

On the 6th the Emperor came to Naigera, where the palace of the Duke was fitted up in the most sumptuous manner, many of the rooms being hung with cloth of gold.

On the 7th he came to Grogno, and on the 8th attended the solemn procession of Corpus-Christi.

On the 9th he gave audience to the Ministers of Lorraine, on the 13th he came to Pampeluna, on the 14th inspected the fortifications, and on the 15th visited the environs of the town.

On the 16th the Emperor was at Taffaille, on the 17th at the Convent at Tobme, on the 18th at Saduna, and from the 27th to the 10th of October at Monteson.

On the 23rd of September began the Convocation of the States of Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia, who voted to the Emperor 500,000 ducats, and did homage to the Infante as heir-apparent to the throne.

On the 20th of July the Emperor entrusted the defence of Perpignan against the French to the Duke of Alva, who set off by the post from Montison on the 22nd.

On the 23rd the Bishop of London\* and the English Minister had an audience of His Majesty : the latter took his leave on the 9th of August ; and M. de Carrières, Captain in the rear-guard forces, was sent off to England on the 13th.

On the 25th of August the Feast of St. Louis, the Dauphin marched into the province of Roussillon, with 40,000 men, and began a cruel war, by laying waste everything with fire and sword, as far as Perpignan.

On the 2nd of September the siege of Perpignan commenced. On the 11th the Imperial minister returned from the French court.

On the 17th came the intelligence that the French, in an unsuccessful expedition against India, had lost twenty-three ships off the Spanish coast.

On the 24th the Emperor received the report that the Dauphin, hearing that reinforcements to the garrison were on their way both from Castile and Italy, and that Prince Doria was coming with fifteen galleys and ten ships to its relief, had abandoned the siege of Perpignan, after carrying it on twenty-two days.

\* Called Westminster here.

Meanwhile the Pope had sent a Cardinal of the Portuguese house of Silva to the Emperor, to treat of a peace with France. He had an audience on the 30th of September, but was answered, that considering the treaty of Nice, the Pope ought rather to declare himself against the King of France as the aggressor, and as an open adherent of the Turks.

The Emperor also complained of the arrest of the Archbishop of Valenza and other Spanish subjects at Avignon, and of the disturbance at Maranos : the Cardinal then departed on the 3rd of October, but came back again on the 13th of November. The Emperor broke up on the 10th, and slept at Lerida, on the 11th he passed the night at Velgbuche, on the 12th at Sernero, and on the 16th came to Bariebona, where on the 20th he inspected the fortifications, and on the 23rd sent back Doria, who returned by Palamos to his fleet, which was anchored at Genoa.

On the last day of October, M. de Granvelle departed for Germany, to attend the Diet.

At Barcelona the Emperor was present at several masquerades.

On the 26th of November he dined at Maoderados, where came the news that San Juan de Luz had been taken from the French, and nine of their vessels captured. On the 1st of December the Emperor came to Cavaignes, on the 3rd to Molverda, and on the 4th to Valenza. On the 5th the Infante made his entry, on which occasion many superb fêtes were given. On the 24th the Emperor passed the night at Alcala, where the princesses then were.

On the second day of the Christmas holidays the marriages of the Crown Prince of Spain with the Princess of Portugal, and the Portuguese Prince with the Princess of Spain, were publicly announced.

On the 30th of December, at night, the Emperor arrived at Madrid.

### 1543.

On the 1st of January the Emperor was at Madrid. During this month several members of the Indian Council were set free, and punished partly by fines, and partly by banishment. The whole body of the nobility likewise was summoned to attend the Emperor against France.

On the 9th of February the Emperor, for the first time, conducted the Crown Prince to the High Court of Judicature. On the 1st of March the Emperor went from Madrid to Alcala, where the princesses were, and on the 2nd came the news that the Imperialists had taken the town of Tremen, in Africa.

On the 3rd the Emperor went to Gadalasor, and on the 29th of March to Molin del Rey.

On the 11th of April he went to Barcelona, where, on the 15th, news was received that Andrew Doria had arrived at Rosas with forty-four galleys, with which, on the 18th, he came to Barcelona.

On the 1st of May the Emperor embarked in the afternoon, and at night fell in with the Neapolitan fleet; the next day he came to Palamos, where he staid till the 12th, and on the 13th landed at Rosas. On the 18th

he proceeded to Cadagnez, and on the 19th was on the open sea.

The Emperor stayed a couple of hours before Marseilles, and on the 24th of May, Corpus-Christi Day, landed at Savona, from whence, on Friday, towards four o'clock in the afternoon, he set sail for Genoa with one hundred and fifty vessels, of which fifty-seven were galleys. At Genoa he remained till the 2nd of June. During this time of his Majesty's residence, many people of rank came to Genoa, amongst which were the Duke de Castro (son of Pope Paul), the Duke of Florence, the Marquis del Vasto, the Prince di Melphi, the Duke of Savoy and his son, the Cardinal de Cibo, and Cardinal Farnese, on the part of his Holiness the Pope, who came on the 2nd of June, and had an audience from the Emperor before his departure. On this day his Majesty came to Borgo, on the 3rd to Serravalle, on the 4th to Tortona, on the 5th to Voghera, where the Cardinal Farnese took his leave, and on the 6th of June to Pavia, where M. de Granvelle returned to his Majesty from the Diet at Nuremberg, and where his daughter, the Duchess of Camerino, was also staying. On the 12th the Emperor bestowed upon the Duke of Florence the castle and fortifications of his duchy. On the 13th he was at Codogno, and on the 14th at Cremona, where the Duke of Ferrara came to meet him, and the Emperor remained till the 20th. Hither came also the Pope's Legate, de Santa Croce, who was received by the Emperor in the cathedral, and on the 21st accompanied his Majesty to Bassetto, where the Pope had arrived that morning.

As the Emperor approached Bassetto, thirteen cardinals advanced to meet him. The Emperor dismounted at the castle, where the Pope received him at the entrance of the saloon, and would not permit him to kiss his feet. They sat together for two hours, and the Emperor then retired to his own abode; after dinner he returned to the Pope, and they conversed together three hours. On the 22nd they spent the whole day together in the castle. Each had a guard of five hundred foot and two hundred light horse in attendance, besides their usual followers.

The Pope had with him thirteen cardinals, and the Duke de Castro, his son. The Emperor was accompanied by the Duke of Brunswick and other gentlemen of rank. On the 23rd the Emperor, who was slightly indisposed, received a visit of three hours from the Pope.

On the 24th all the cardinals waited in a body upon the Emperor, and the same evening the Emperor's daughter, the Duchess of Camerino, Signora Costanza, a daughter of the Pope, Contessa Zambara, and other ladies, came to take their leave.

In the afternoon of the 25th the Emperor took leave of the Pope, who accompanied him into the hall. The cardinals attended his Majesty out of the gates of the town.

Towards night the Emperor arrived at Cremona, and remained there on the 26th. On the 27th and 28th he was in the territory of Mantua, and on the 29th came to Peschiera, where the government of Venice provided his Majesty with refreshments.

On the 30th of June the Emperor was at Dolce, where

a triumphal arch had been erected on a bridge of boats across the Etsch.

On the 1st of July the Emperor slept at Noveredo, where the Bishop of Trent came to meet him, and conducted him to his house at Trent, where he passed the night of the 2nd. He was met at this place by Cardinal Moroné, a legate of the Pope, sent there to the church assembly. On the 7th the Emperor came to Brixen, on the 8th to Sterzing, and on the 9th to Innspruck, where he found the young archduke and five princesses, his brother's children. He spent the 11th of July there.

On the 15th of July he was at Kempten, on the 18th at Ulm, and on the 27th at Spires, where the Elector of Mayence and the Bishop of Arras came to meet him. On this day he inspected one hundred field-pieces, which he intended to take with him in the war against France.

On the 28th twenty thousand Germans were mustered; on the 1st of August the Electors of Cologne and the Palatine came to Spires.

On the 5th the Emperor was at Worms, on the 6th at Oppenheim, and on the 7th at Mayence, whence he sailed on the 12th with seventy vessels, and was received at Coblentz by the Elector of Treves. On the 16th he slept at Andernach, and on the 17th at Bonn, where he was the guest of the Elector of Cologne.

On the 20th the Emperor broke up from Bonn with five thousand horse and thirty thousand men on foot, and encamped in a little village at Arau.

On the 21st the Emperor marched to Lintkirch, and

on the 22nd encamped before Düren, a town in Cleves, where the Prince of Orange (who on the preceding day had taken Mountjoy by storm), joined the Imperial army on the 23rd with three hundred infantry, and two thousand five hundred horse.

The same day the Emperor summoned the town of Düren to surrender, and as it refused to do so, it was stormed on the afternoon of the 24th by the Spanish and Italian troops, and taken in two hours. The garrison consisted of four thousand men, besides the inhabitants, who were partly killed and partly taken prisoners by the Imperialists. The town was given over to plunder; but the Emperor had given orders, under pain of death, to spare all the women and children, who were recommended to take refuge in the church.

On the 25th there broke out in this unhappy city a fire, which it was impossible to put out, and which laid six hundred houses in ashes.

On the 26th the Emperor endeavoured to restore as much order in the town as he possibly could, and breaking up from thence on the 27th went first to Marzwent, and on the 28th to Cruanesick. On the 29th Höcke in Gueldres surrendered, and the Emperor proceeded to Corbeck. On the 30th he encamped before the capital town Sarmünden, which surrendered, as well as Huttern and several other places.

On the 1st of September, at six o'clock in the morning, the Prince of Orange entered this town with two thousand infantry and two hundred horse. At nine o'clock the Emperor made his entry (into Rogendorf) accompanied by

the Dukes of Brunswick and Saxony, and several other gentlemen, and, having proceeded to the principal square, received the oaths of allegiance from the assembled multitude; he then returned to his camp, and on the 2nd of September moved to Tise. On the 3rd the Emperor visited his sister, the Stadholderinn, at Horm, and came back to his camp in the evening. On the same day the town of Cleves surrendered, and the Coadjutor of Cologne made his appearance to demand a safe conduct for Duke William.

On the 4th the Emperor encamped before Venlo, and summoned the town, which, however, would not surrender.

On the 5th the Coadjutor of Cologne returned to hasten the negotiations with the Duke of Cleves; upon which the Duke of Brunswick was sent to bring him into the camp. They returned together on the 6th, and the Duke of Cleves dismounted in the tent of M. de Granvelle, where he supped, and staid till the next morning.

On the 7th, at ten o'clock in the morning, the Coadjutor and the Duke of Brunswick, conducted Duke William to his Majesty, whom they found in his tent, with many princes, lords, and imperial counsellors assembled round him. The Duke of Cleves remained on his knees, while his chancellor delivered an address in the German language, acknowledging his (the duke's) error, and sueing for mercy. This was answered by the Vice-Chancellor Naves, who said that the Emperor was willing to let his clemency prevail, and desired the

Duke to return to M. de Granvelle's, where the outline of a treaty should be drawn up by the Imperial counsellors. After this, his Majesty bade the Duke to rise, and held out his hand to him; they then had a short private conference, and the Duke took his leave. On the 8th of September the treaty was concluded. On the 10th the Emperor held his entry into Venlo.

On the 11th, Martin von Rossem came into the camp; on the afternoon of the 12th he was presented to the Emperor by the Duke of Brunswick, and, acknowledging his Majesty as his rightful liege lord, promised to serve him as faithfully as he had done his late master.

His Majesty then went from his rooms into an open tent, where the States of Gueldres and Zutphen took the oath of allegiance on their knees, after having been freed from their oaths to the Duke of Cleves. The Prince of Orange was then made their Stadholder.

On the same day the Polish envoys came to his Majesty, and made him a present of a male and female dwarf.

On the 14th the Emperor had an attack of the gout. Duke William received Cleves and Juliers as Imperial fiefs, and Rabenstein as a fief of Brabant. The Emperor then went on to Weerde, and the army marched on through Liege and the county of Namur to France. On the 15th the Emperor came to Gera, and on the 16th to Diest, where he remained on account of the increasing pain in his limbs. On the 18th the Stadholderinn came, and on the 19th came also the deputies from the Netherlands, who had been summoned to a convocation at Louvain, which the Emperor was now unable to attend.

On the 22nd the Emperor was conveyed to the Assembly of States in an easy chair.

The President Shorre made the opening speech, which was answered by the Chancellor of Brabant, and the Emperor, on account of his indisposition, referred them through the president, to the Stadholderinn, who would deliver his sentiments in return. On the 24th each state, individually, was with the Emperor, who, on the 25th, slept at the convent of Cempe, on the 26th came to Louvain, where he remained on the 27th; on the 28th came to Asque, on the 29th to Nivelle, and on the 30th of September to Brest, where he remained till the 13th of October, on account of the pain in his limbs.

On this day he went to Mons, on the 18th to Bovais, on the 19th to Quesnoy, and on the 20th, at mid-day, came to his camp before Landreci, the same night he proceeded to Abernes, where an English chamberlain arrived on the 23rd. On the 27th the Emperor sent M. de Granvelle to the camp, on account of some misunderstanding which had arisen.

On the 29th came the news, that the French army was advancing in order of battle. Upon this intelligence the scattered camp of the Imperialists united, which gave the French an opportunity of supplying the town of Landreci with provisions and a fresh garrison on the 31st of October. The same day the Emperor went from Avennes to Quesnoy, and staid there on the 1st of November. On the 2nd the Emperor ordered his army to advance towards Chateau Cambresis, as it was reported that King Francis had boasted of his intention to give the Imperialists battle.

From Quesnoy his Majesty arrived, towards evening, within a ride and a half of the French camp, and on the 3rd showed himself in battle array to the enemy, who retired within their entrenchments. On this and on the following day, the Imperial army encamped quite close to the French ; but on the 4th, at eleven o'clock at night, the king broke up with his army in deep silence, so that even the bells were taken off the mules' necks, and marched quietly off towards Guise.

As soon as the news of this departure was received, the French rear-guard was pursued beyond the Bois de Bouchain, and some men were taken, besides baggage and provisions. The Emperor now took up his abode in the same apartments in Chateau Cambresis, which the King had abandoned the night before, and remained there on the 6th. On the 7th he came with his camp to Legin, and on the 8th to Crevecoeur, which the Emperor took from the Dauphin, and where he remained on the 9th, to appoint winter-quarters for his troops.

On the 10th the Emperor rode into Cambray in full armour, and left a garrison in it. On the 15th he went to Valenciennes, and remained there till the 19th of November. On the 17th the Duke of Lorraine came to visit the Emperor, and in the course of the following day had several conversations with his Majesty. On the 20th the Emperor went to Mons, on the 21st to Brain le Conte, on the 22nd to Sept Fontaines, and on the 23rd to Brussels, where the Chamberlain, Peloux, died on the 25th.

On the 2nd of December Don Fernando de Gonzaga,

Viceroy of Sicily, set out on a mission to England, in company with several nobles.

On the 23rd there was an assembly of the States, and the Emperor made them a long address.

### 1544.

On the 2nd of January the Emperor went from Brussels to Louvain, on the 3rd to Tirlemont, on the 4th to Tongers, on the 5th to Liege, and on the 6th being the Feast of the Three Holy Kings, the Emperor attended High Mass in the Cathedral, and made an offering of gold, frankincense, and myrrh.

On the 8th he left Liege for Huisen, on the 9th and 10th he was at Aix-la-Chapelle, on the 11th at Crappe, on the 12th, 13th, and 14th, at Cologne, on the 15th at Bonn, on the 16th at Rombach, on the 17th at Andernach, on the 18th at Coblenz, on the 19th at Sonne, a castle in the Palatinate; and on the 20th at Kreuzenach, where the Papal Legate, Farnese, had just arrived, having travelled post through France. He was visited by M. de Granvelle and the Bishop of Arras; and on the 21st, in the afternoon, had an audience of his Majesty.

On the 23rd the Emperor was at Alzei, and on the 24th at Worms, where the Legate received an answer to his communication and took his leave. The Emperor proceeded to Neuschloss, where he remained till the 30th, and then went to Spires.

On the 1st of February the Emperor made his public

entry, which was attended by the Duchess of Bavaria and the Princess Palatine, both nieces of the Emperor; also by the King of the Romans, with the Archdukes, his sons; and six Electors, with several other Princes and nobles.

The Palatine, Count Frederick, here attained to the dignity of Elector, by the death of the Elector Lewis.

On the 20th the Emperor attended the assembled Diet, and the Vice-Chancellor Naves made the opening speech.

The Imperial States declared themselves willing to support 20,000 infantry and 4,000 cavalry against France, for the space of six months.

On the 4th of April, the Duke of Brunswick had a public audience, to give him the opportunity of defending himself against the accusations of the Landgrave of Hesse. On the same day the Elector of Mayence returned home. On the 5th of April the Grand-Master of Prussia took the oath of allegiance in a solemn assembly. On the 8th Count Egmont's marriage with a Bavarian Princess was celebrated with extraordinary magnificence.

On the 9th of June the determination of the Diet was made known, that all Germans then in the service of France should return home within fifteen days, under sentence of banishment, and that no one, under pain of death, should again enter the French service.

On the 10th the Diet was dissolved, and the Emperor went again to Neuschloss, where he remained till the 13th, and then went to Schneeberg; on the 14th he was at Ichteritz, on the 15th at St. Albert, and on the 16th made his entry into Metz, accompanied by the Archdukes,

Duke Maurice of Saxony, Margrave Albert of Brandenburg, and several other princes, five thousand infantry, and three thousand horse. He remained at Metz till the 6th of July. On the 1st of July the French prisoners, the Counts de Ligny, de Brienne, and de Chesne were brought to Metz, and from thence conveyed to Namur. On the 6th the Emperor marched, with flying colours, from Metz to Pont à Mousson, rested on the 7th, and came to Menouville on the 8th. On the 9th he came to Dreux, on the 10th to Penne, and on the 11th to Nassau, where were the Duke and Duchess of Lorraine (the latter the Emperor's niece). On the 12th he went through Ligny to Steeville, and on the 13th to his camp near St. Disier, where he passed the night in a small village.

On the 14th the Prince of Orange, who had been wounded in the shoulder by a ball from a falconet, was brought into the Imperial quarters, and on the following evening died in the Emperor's arms. On the 15th an unsuccessful attempt was made at storming St. Disier.

On the 14th the Emperor had sent Duke Maurice, Don Francesco d'Este, and Count Fürstenberg to Vitry, with four companies, two thousand horses, and four mortars. They arrived there on the 24th, put to flight M. de Brissac, General of the French Chevaux Legers, routed about one thousand five hundred men, and took both the town and the castle, with four colours. Count William Fürstenberg was, however, wounded, and M. de Hallweit died seven days afterwards, in consequence of a wound he received on this occasion.

On the 8th of August the garrison of St. Disier

agreed to capitulate, in case they should receive no relief before the 17th. On the 11th the Imperial camp was reinforced by the arrival of six thousand Germans. On the 12th some predatory excursions were made as far as Chantilly,\* which place was burnt down. On the 25th the Emperor broke up with his camp, came to Turpie, and remained there on the 26th and 27th. On the 28th he was at St. Pierre, and on the 29th agreed, after many entreaties, to take into consideration the proposals for peace, and gave the French Admiral, M. de Annebaut, who on that day arrived at St. Venay with three hundred horse, a safe conduct back. He also commissioned the Viceroy of Sicily and M. de Granvelle to examine and deliberate upon the preliminaries of the treaty, and they passed two days in negotiations, attended by a guard of two thousand men.

On the 30th the Emperor took up his quarters at La Haussée, and on the 31st of August advanced about a cannon-shot further towards Gallon, but, continuing his march in the night, he found himself at daybreak exactly opposite to the French army, and only separated from it by the river Marne. The French kept themselves within their entrenchments, but succeeded in taking Count Fürstenberg prisoner. At the same time the French Lieutenant-General, Prince de la Roche-sur-Yon, with thirty men at arms, fell into the hands of the Imperialists. On the same day the Emperor marched three miles forward and encamped on the plain.

\* Janteille.

On the 2nd of September the Emperor was at Tirre, on the 3rd at Compiegne, on the 4th and 5th at several places between Traye and Eperien, which had been burnt down to the ground.

On the 6th he was at Chatillon, from whence the Bishop of Arras departed for England under a safe conduct from the French King; on the 7th of September at St. Crepeau, when Tiery-Simony was taken by the Imperialists' light-horse, on the 8th, at a village called Sabaythe. On 9th and 10th he advanced half a mile further, and on the 11th came to Soissons which surrendered immediately on being summoned.

His Majesty took up his abode at Oblette in the neighbourhood, and sent Duke Maurice into the town. On the 12th the Emperor marched through Soissons and established himself at the Abbaye de St. Marceau, where he passed the 13th, 14th, 15th and 16th, on which day the Peace with France was concluded. On the 17th the French plenipotentiaries came to wait upon His Majesty, after which the Emperor advanced with his camp to Pignay, and on the 18th came to Creci, where he was met by the Bishop of Arras on his return from England. At four o'clock in the afternoon arrived the Duke of Orleans, second son of the King of France, by post, and took up his abode with the Emperor. On the 19th came also the Comte de Vendôme; and the Emperor in their presence swore to the treaty of peace; after which the Archdukes, the Duke of Orleans, Comte de Vendôme and the Admiral of France dined with the Emperor. On the 20th the Duke de Guise arrived with several others, and he, as well

as the Duke of Orleans and the Admiral, was entertained at the Imperial table. After this the Admiral took his leave; his son remaining as an hostage along with the Duke de Guise, and M. de Laval who soon arrived for the purpose.

On this day the Emperor slept at Riblemont, and on the 21st came to the Abbaye de St. Nac near St. Quentin in Picardy.\* On the 22nd he came to Chateau de Cambresis, and on the 23rd to Cambray, where the Queen Stadholderinn was awaiting him, and the Cardinals of Meudon and Lorraine (the latter in place of his brother the Duke de Guise) had already arrived; Cardinal de Tournon, however, was detained elsewhere by business.

On the 24th the Emperor left the Duke of Orleans and the hostages with the Stadholderinn and returned to Chateau Cambresis to arrange his affairs with the army. He remained there on the 25th, whilst the Duke of Orleans went from Cambray to Peronne, and the Queen came to Valenciennes with the hostages; the same day also Landreci was given up to the Imperialists by the French. On the 26th the Emperor passed through Landreci, dined at Quesnoy, and arrived at Valenciennes in the evening. On the 28th he went to Mons. On the 30th of September he slept at Notre Dame de Chaulx, within thre miles of Brussels.

On the 1st of October the Emperor dined at Trois Fontaines and reached Brussels at night.

\* Vermanday.

On the 18th he went to meet the Queen of France, with the Archdukes and several Princes, slept at Breyne le Conte that night, and on the 19th, at noon, came to Mons. After dinner he went on a little further towards the Queen, and having met her, they returned together to Mons, where he gave a supper to Her Majesty, the Archdukes, the Cardinal de Lorraine, the Duchess d'Estampes and her sister the Countess de Verlu.

On the 20th, in addition to the former party, he invited the Cardinal de Meudon, the Bishop of Rheims, and Messrs. de Laval and de Henauden to dinner. Whilst at table he was told that the Duke of Orleans was coming by post to visit him, whereupon he sent the Viceroy of Sicily also by post to meet him, and the whole party then repaired to Soujnie where they were received by the Queen of Hungary, who kept her sister (the Queen of France) with her, while the Emperor with the Cardinals and the rest of his suite slept at the said Breyne le Conte.

At nine o'clock at night the Duke of Orleans arrived, and occupied apartments in the Imperial quarters. On the 21st, at noon, the whole party went to Notre Dame de Chaulx, where the Emperor and the Queen of France remained, whilst the Stadholderinn and the Duke of Orleans proceeded to Brussels.

On the 22nd the Stadholderinn made her grand entry into Brussels, carried in a litter under a canopy, and attended by a great many French gentlemen, as well as by the Duchess d' Estampes, the Countess de Verlu, Countess

d'Aubemont and others, amongst whom were Mesdames de Penthievre, de Martignon, de Nieulx, de Bressieulx, de Grenac, de l'Estrange et de l'Arpenzon.

She remained at Brussels till the 3rd of November, in the forenoon of which day, she and the ladies of her suite received rich presents, amounting to fifty thousand gold crowns in value.

At three o'clock in the afternoon, the Queen took her departure with the Duke of Orleans, and was accompanied by the Emperor to the gates of the town, by the Archdukes as far as Mons, and by the Duke of Arscot to the frontiers. On the 4th of November the States were assembled. On the 2nd of December the Emperor, travelling in company with the Stadholderinn, the Archdukes and others, passed the night at Alost, and on the 3rd arrived at Ghent, where the Emperor continued to be tormented by the gout during the whole month.

### 1545.

On the 15th of January the Emperor went from Ghent to Teremonde, and on the 16th to Brussels.

On the 1st of February the Emperor was still laid up with the gout, and on the 10th began to follow a regimen, and to make use of Indian-wood. As his Majesty was thus prevented from attending the Diet, M. de Granvelle was sent there on the 20th. On the 15th of March the Emperor finished his regimen.

On the 29th the French hostages at the Imperial Court, Messieurs de Laval, de Henaudée, and Cardinal de Meudon, returned to France. On the 7th of April the

Emperor went from Brussels to Büren in the wood, on the 9th to Mechlin, and on the 19th to Antwerp, where he was again visited by the Duke of Orleans. On the 30th the Court was at Liers, and on the 31st of April the Emperor and the Archdukes went to Diest, and the Stadholderinn, with the Duke of Orleans, to Brussels, from whence the Duke returned to France on the 2nd of May.

On the 1st of May the Emperor was at Diest, and kept the eve of the 2nd, which was held as a solemn anniversary of the late Empress's death. He spent the night at Curing. On the 3rd he was at Maestricht, on the 5th at Aix-la-Chapelle, on the 6th at Juliers, on the 7th at Cologne, on the 9th at Bonn, and on the 10th at Andernach, on the 11th at Coblenz, on the 12th at Simmern, on the 13th at Krumpach, on the 15th at Halsem, in the Palatinate, at which place the King of the Romans joined the Emperor, and they both continued their journey to Worms on the 16th, where Cardinal Farnese arrived on the 17th, and had an audience on the 19th. On the 20th he had another audience, after which he took his leave, and in the night departed, "al incognito," by post with Baron de Madrutz.

On the 27th the States attended on the Emperor, who on the 28th went to hunt at Neuschloss, and on the 30th returned to Worms.

On the 9th of June the Elector arrived from the Palatinate, and on the 10th the Emperor gave a public audience to the French envoy.

On the 18th of July the Governor of Milan, Marquis

del Vasto came to Worms. On the 19th of July the obsequies were held for the Princess, daughter of the King of the Romans, who had been married in Poland; the ceremony was attended, besides the Court, by the ministers of France, England, Portugal, Poland and Venice, with the Nuncio.

On the 21st came the news of the birth of the Spanish Infante, Don Carlos. On the 23rd the Prince of Piedmont arrived. On the 30th of July the King of the Romans and the Archduke Maximilian departed for Bohemia, and on the 31st came the news of the death of the Emperor's daughter-in-law.

On the 7th of August the Emperor, accompanied by the Archduke Ferdinand, the Prince Philibert and others, travelled to Alzey, and the Marquis del Vasto returned to Milan. On the 8th the Emperor travelled twenty-two German miles, and reached Cologne, where he was joined by the Duke of Cleves.

On the 15th the Elector of Cologne came to wait upon his Majesty, and after the audience went to Bonn. On the 17th, at noon, the Emperor came to Düsseldorf, and at night to Juliers; on the 18th to Maestricht; on the 19th, at noon, to Tongres, and at night to Sentry; on the 20th, at noon, to Tirlemont, and at night to Louvain, where the Stadholderinn came to meet him, whilst the Court remained at Vaure. The public entry was not, however, made until the 26th, and then the procession was in deep mourning, on account of the Infanta's death, and the obsequies were held with the greatest magnificence.

On the 15th of October the Emperor went from

Brussels to Vaure, remained at Mechlin from the 17th to the 22nd, then went to Teremonde, and on the 28th to Ghent, where he remained till the 2nd of November. On the 3rd he was at Bruges, where the English Bishop of Westminster came to treat with the French plenipotentiaries, under the auspices of the Emperor. The Admiral and High Chancellor of France having arrived on the 7th, negotiations were carried on daily, in presence of Messrs. de Granvelle, de Praet, and President Shorre, till the 16th, on which day his Majesty went to Alost, on the 17th to Vanlo, and on the 18th to Antwerp.

The ministers, in pursuance of their negotiations, followed the Emperor until the 24th, when the French commissioners took leave of his Majesty, and returned home without having been able to come to any agreement.

On the 1st of December the Emperor went from Antwerp to Masle, on the 2nd to Turnhut, on the 3rd to Lectre, and on the 4th to Herzogenbusch, where he was again attacked by the gout.

On the 28th the Emperor came to Bomeln, on the 29th to Büren, and at night to Vict.

On the 30th of December he came to Utrecht.

#### 1546.

Between the 2nd and the 17th of January some arrangements were made at Utrecht, concerning the order of the Golden Fleece ; and twenty-two vacancies, which had occurred since the last promotion in 1531, were filled up. At this time the Emperor had again several attacks of gout. On the 3rd of February his Majesty travelled

from Utrecht to Wagewing, on the 4th to Arnheim, on the 7th to Zutphen, on the 8th back again to Arnheim, on the 9th to Nimeguen, on the 15th to Gemappe, on the 16th, at noon, to Zwoll, at night to Venlo; on the 17th to Rüremond, on the 18th to Stochem, and on the 19th to Maestricht.

On the 2nd of March the Emperor was at Liege, on the 3rd at Chapelle, in the territory of Luxembourg, on the 4th at Burcal, on the 5th at La Roche, on the 6th and 7th at Bestourne la Ardenne, on the 8th at Harlae in the Luxembourg, on the 9th at Yvoir, on the 10th at Monicey, and on the 11th at Hallencye. From the 12th to the 18th he remained at Luxembourg, and thence went through Schennek in Lorraine; on the 19th he came to Valderfingen, on the 20th to Stierbrugg, on the 22nd to Kaiserslautern, on the 23rd to Neustadt, on the 24th to Spires, where, on the 26th, he was joined by the Elector of Mayence and the Palatinate, and on the 29th by the Landgrave. On the 30th he arrived at Suise, and on the 31st of March at Horn. On the 1st of April he came to Neustadt, on the 2nd to Coysey, on the 3rd and 4th to Dunkelspiel, on the 5th to Oetingen, on the 6th to Donauwerth, on the 7th to Neuberg, on the 8th to Ingolstadt, on the 9th to Kempten, and on the 10th to Ratisbon, where his Majesty remained till the 4th of August, and collected a considerable army against the Protestants.

On the 10th of July the new Elector of Mayence arrived. On the 8th, the Duke of Cleves was married to the daughter of the King of the Romans, and departed for Lintz on the 20th.

On the 23rd the Diet was dissolved, and all the business put off till the next Assembly.

During this Diet, Duke Maurice was elevated to the dignity of Elector.

On the 3rd of August the Emperor went from Ratisbon to Neuburg, and on the 4th to Landshut, where the Duke of Castro arrived on the 14th with the Italian troops. On the 15th the Emperor returned to Neuburg, on the 16th he was at Sharding, from the 17th to the 21st near Ratisbon, and slept at Langwied, and on the 23rd at Neuburg.

On the 24th, he was encamped on the other side of the Danube, where, on the 25th, Cardinal Farnese and the Principe di Sulmone joined him with troops; and, from the 27th to the 31st of August, they remained before Ingolstadt. On this day, the Protestant army approached quite close to the Imperial entrenchments, and the two armies cannonaded each other till past midnight.

On the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd, the enemy continued their fire amid frequent skirmishes, and were answered by the Imperialists; till, perceiving how little effect they were producing, the latter marched towards Neuburg on the 4th, and crossed the Danube on the 7th. On the 15th Count Buren, with the Dutch troops, joined the Imperial camp, which was still stationary before Ingoldstadt. His whole force being now assembled, the Emperor passed the Danube on the 17th, and on the evening of the 18th advanced to Neuburg, which surrendered, and was occupied by the Imperialists, under the command of the Duke of Alva. On the 19th the Emperor entered the

town, and placed in it a garrison of the new Elector of Saxony's.

On the 22nd the Emperor returned to his camp, and was before Nördlingen from the 24th of September to the 2nd of October, on which day the Emperor took up his position in a village called Monheim, belonging to the estate of Neuburg. On the 4th the army was in a village of Oettingen, named Bestertrey. During the whole of this night, the Protestants were marching away from Donauwerth, through the mountains, to Nördlingen, in sight of the Imperial army, which, on the 5th, encamped just opposite to them, and several skirmishes took place. On the 9th the Emperor detached the Duke de Castro and Shaumberg to Donauwerth, which immediately surrendered.

On the 11th the Emperor posted himself before Donauwerth, and on the 12th before Dünkelspiel, which also surrendered. Laningen did the same on the 13th, on which day the soldiers of the Landgrave and of Schärtlin took flight, and lost sixty men and five pieces of cannon. Soon afterwards, the Emperor himself came up, and at night halted at Santheim, to which place the Princes marched on the following day, and several engagements took place.

On the 31st of October the Emperor encamped between Laningen and Dillingen and on the 3rd of November advanced to a forest within half a mile of the enemy's camp. On the 24th Nördlingen, and four smaller places, surrendered to the Emperor.

In the meantime, the Protestant camp had been entirely

broken up, partly on account of the conquests of the King of the Romans and the Elector Maurice in Saxony, partly because of the misunderstandings between the Landgrave and the deposed Elector John, and partly also for want of necessary resources for maintaining the army. Upon this, the Emperor took up his quarters in a convent near Eiring, and the Count de Buren occupied Feuchtwang.

On the 1st of December the Emperor passed the night in the conquered town, on the 2nd came to Anderwest, on the 3rd to Rottenburg, on the 15th to Kiensburg, and on the 16th to Swabian Halle, where he staid till the 23rd. On the 17th the Elector Palatine arrived here, in order to renew his alliance with the Emperor. The town of Ulm also surrendered. On the 23rd the Emperor came to Heilbronn; and here, on the 27th, the Envoys of the Duke of Würtemberg came to sue for indulgence. On the 31st of December a treaty was concluded with the Duke.

### 1547.

On the 1st of January the Emperor was still at Heilbronn, the Duke of Alva in the territory of Würtemberg, and the Count de Buren in that of Katzenellenbogen. On the 6th three commissioners from Würtemberg had another public audience in presence of the Elector Palatine, and confirmed the submission of the Duke, their master. The Vice-Chancellor of the Empire then communicated to them the Emperor's intention of showing himself a "gracious master," and the deputies from Frankfort, who afterwards came and threw themselves at his Majesty's

feet, were dismissed with a similar answer. On the 18th the Emperor went to the town-hall in order to receive the homage of the city of Heilbronn, and afterwards travelled onwards to Malpack. On the 19th he was at Esslingen, on the 20th at Göppingen, on the 21st at Geislingen, and on the 25th on his way to Ulm. On the 27th, the deputies from Augsburg had a public audience, and received the same answer as the other towns of the Empire.

On the 31st of January the city of Ulm took the oath of allegiance. On the 25th of February the Emperor was at Ulm, and present at the funeral ceremonies held for the Queen of the Romans, who had died on the 27th of the last month.

When Duke Maximilian heard that a battle was likely to ensue between his father (the King of the Romans) and the Elector John Frederick of Saxony, he felt an irresistible impulse to fight on his father's side; but not daring to ask the Emperor's consent to his departure, he got up at midnight on the 6th of March, and, unperceived by his attendants, descended into the court with his sword under his arm. Here a confidential nobleman awaited him, who had post-horses in readiness, and gave him his own servant as an attendant. The Prince gave out that he was a courier sent by Duke Maximilian to his father, King Ferdinand. At three o'clock, however, M. de Chontonay, cup-bearer to the Crown-Prince, became aware of the transaction, and told it to Count Fürstenberg, who disclosed it to the Emperor, and hurried off after the Duke.

Having overtaken him at the second post, he brought him back again to Ulm.

On the 4th of March the Duke of Würtemberg came to Ulm, and sued for pardon of the Emperor, according to the treaty of Heilbronn. The Duke being much afflicted with the gout, the Emperor permitted him to remain seated in the chair in which he was conveyed into his presence. After the audience, the Emperor travelled to Giengen, leaving the Bishop of Arras (the younger Granvella) with the Duke; and on the 5th he came to Nördlingen, where he was detained by the gout until the 21st. On this day he came to Oettingen, where the town of Strasburg surrendered. On the 22nd he went to Sengelhausen, on the 23rd to Sanpohk, and on the 24th to Nuremburg, where the Danish envoys met him, and laid before his Majesty an intercession in favour of the Elector, John Frederick. The Emperor assigned them to Eger for his answer. On the 29th the Emperor entered Herspruck with flying colours, and passed the 30th and 31st of March at Vilseck. On the 1st of April the Emperor was at Weiden, and on the 2nd at Thiershaupt, where on the 5th he was joined by the King of the Romans (Ferdinand, King of Hungary and Bohemia). At night the Emperor came to Eger, where King Ferdinand followed him on the next day. Both monarchs remained at Eger till the 14th, and on the 6th of April received the news of the death of the King of France, which had taken place on the 30th of March.

On the 6th of April the Duke of Cleves also came to

Eger. On the 14th the Emperor slept at Langegg, on the 15th at Regenau, on the 16th at Werther, on the 17th at a village near Glatz, on the 18th at Gutenstein, on the 19th at Schwentrecht, on the 20th at Tiefeneck, and from the 21st to the 24th remained at Selkorn; on this day the monarchs hurried forward with the cavalry, and crossing the Elbe by a ford, first with the light, and afterwards with the heavy horse, came up with the Saxon army at the corner of a forest.

A bloody battle ensued, in which the Elector was wounded in the head, and taken prisoner; nearly two thousand of his men were left dead on the field, and the rest taken, excepting a few who saved themselves by flight to Wittenberg. The Emperor and the King crossed the Elbe again, and slept at Schesneck; on the 27th they were at Diebles, on the 28th at Niede, on the 29th at Wereblen, and on the 30th of April at Nielsink. On the 1st of May they came within a post of Wittenberg; on the 4th they crossed the river a little further down, and having reached the village of Pollersdorf, a quarter of a mile from Wittenberg, they encamped round about the town, and remained there till the 10th of June.

On the 5th of May the Elector of Brandenburg came to the Emperor, and, accompanied by several Princes, sued for pardon of the imprisoned Elector. After several conferences, they obtained it, under certain conditions, imposed in an agreement dated the 8th of this month.

On the 19th the brother and son of Duke John Frederick came out of the town, and signed the said agreement.

On the 23rd the garrison marched out of Wittenberg, and was escorted for the space of three miles by the Imperial chevaux légers; after which Baron de Madutz took their place in the town, with five companies of German troops.

On the 24th the Duchess Consort was announced to his Majesty, who sent the Elector of Brandenburg and the two Archdukes to meet her. She arrived, accompanied by her second son, brother of the captive Duke and his consort, and followed by four carriages, containing the ladies, all dressed in mourning. She found the Emperor in his tent with the King of the Romans, Duke Maurice of Saxony, the Duke of Alva, the Duke of Camerino, and several other gentlemen. As soon as the Duchess saw the Emperor, she threw herself on her knees before him; he immediately held out his hand to her, and bade the King of the Romans to assist her in rising; whereupon, by her Saxon counsellor, she expressed the chief object of her request, namely, that her husband might not be taken out of the country. She received for answer that her petition could not at present be complied with. She then threw herself once more on her knees, and earnestly prayed the Emperor to have mercy upon her and her children.

His Majesty, with much kindness, bid her take courage, and the Grand-Chamberlain, the Duke of Alva, conducted her to her husband, with whom she was permitted to converse two hours, and was then led back again to Wittenberg, where the Emperor paid her a visit. On the 26th the captive Duke also came to Wittenberg to settle

all his affairs before his departure in presence of the Duchess, during which time he was, however, guarded by Don Alonzo Vivez with 500 Spanish archers. The King of the Romans had already marched off into Bohemia on the 24th with his troops.

On the 2nd of June the Emperor crossed the Elbe with his army, and took up his quarters half a mile from the town. On the 3rd the captive Duke John Frederick and his son came to the camp, the latter excused their late arrival by saying, that sickness had detained his father, and begging to recommend his father, mother, brothers and sisters to the Emperor's kind and gracious consideration. On the 4th Duke Maurice, according to the act of abdication made by the Duke John Frederick, was publicly invested with his new electoral dignity, and on the 5th entered Wittenberg with his troops, from whence the Duchess Sybille had departed early in the morning. On the 7th the Emperor was at Heinrich, on the 8th at Pieterwerth, where he remained on the 9th for the performance of his religious duties, and on the 16th arrived at Halle in Saxony. On the 18th the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, who were very urgent with the Emperor for the pardon of the Landgrave (of Hesse), brought him to Halle, where, on the 19th, at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, he had an audience of the Emperor and made his obeisance to him. One of his nobles then made an address to His Majesty, kneeling before his throne according to etiquette, to which an Imperial Counsellor gave answer, that the Emperor, in consideration of the intercession made by the Electors then present, would

consent to remit both the sentence of death and of constant imprisonment which had been pronounced against the Landgrave, according to the article already referred to.

After this, the Landgrave was committed to the Duke of Alva's care, who detained him and the Electoress to supper in the castle, and then allotted a room to the Landgrave under the surveillance of Don Juan de Guevara and his 200 archers. On this day, Count Eberstein and two of his accomplices were punished for a fault committed at the siege of Bremen.

On the 18th also arrived the Duke of Brunswick and the Prince, his son, whom the Landgrave had kept imprisoned for five years. Some Danish envoys also came here at the same time. On the 24th the Electors represented to the Emperor in strong terms the captivity of which the Landgrave complained. His Majesty then gave them the paper to read in which not only his sentence of constant imprisonment and death had been remitted to him, but all his property was secured. His Majesty said, that he would have escaped without any punishment whatever, if it were not for a clause in the articles, by which he was obliged to submit to a limited imprisonment at any time which should best suit the Emperor.\* The Electors perceived the truth and reason of this statement, and were satisfied.

\* Hormayr, in a note appended to this passage of Charles' Itinerary, refers the reader to a short discussion, relative to the Landgrave's imprisonment, in the Austrian Plutarch.

Speaking there of the capitulation of Wittenberg, to which the Elector had agreed, he continues, "Philip, Landgrave of Hesse,

The Emperor afterwards ordered the Duke of Brunswick to be brought into his presence, and chided him for having spoken and written so disrespectfully of him, and for having sought assistance from the King of France. His Majesty, however, was willing to let his clemency prevail, and to reinstate the Duke in his dominions. On the 22nd the Duke of Alva led the two captive Princes away. On the 23rd the Emperor went from Halle to Canstadt, on the 24th to Naumberg, on the 25th to Ghein, on the 26th to Chat, on the 27th to Salfeld, on the 28th and 29th he was at Grünenthal, and on the 30th at Judenbach.

father of Agnes, the wife of Maurice, complied with the Emperor's wishes so far as, in a large assembly, on the 19th of June, 1547, to make the most abject apologies, to give his signature to the capitulation, and to follow the Emperor as prisoner."

That the Emperor had promised not to keep him immured in a prison (*nicht in einiger Gefängnitz zu halten*) and had afterwards ordered the word *einiger* to be erased and *ewiger* substituted, thereby giving the power of imprisoning, though *not for life*, Hormayr maintains : "To be one of those countless and childish fabrications by which the party spirit of that time endeavoured to place Charles's memory on a par with that of a Nero or a Busiris. The original papers of the Emperor, as well as those of Maurice and Granvelle, and the sketch of the agreement made by Duke Maurice and the Elector of Brandenburg, are to be seen at Vienna, of which latter document copies are to be found elsewhere, and expose the utter falsehood of this miserable invention." Robertson alludes to this report, as bearing the authority of some historians of great name, but as Sleidan, who published several memorials respecting the Landgrave's loss of liberty, does not mention it, he seems disposed to concur with those who call in question the truth of this story.

On the 1st of July he came to Neustadt, on the 2nd to Coburg, and on the 3rd and 4th to Bamberg ; on the 6th to Nuremburg, where, on the 14th, the people of Hamburg signified their subjection. On the 18th he came to Rot, on the 19th to Wurzburg, on the 20th to Mannheim, on the 21st to Donauwerth, on the 22nd to Westendorf, and on the 23rd to Augsburg, where the Duke of Bavaria arrived with the Prince his son. The captive, Duke John Frederick, was also brought to Augsburg, while the Landgrave remained at Donauwerth under a Spanish guard.

On the 1st of August the Emperor was going to re-commence the cure of Indian bark-wood, but was attacked by his usual disorder, the jaundice, which continued to annoy him during the whole of this month. On the 1st of September the Diet commenced, and the Archduke Maximilian appeared there in place of the Emperor.

On the 18th the Electors and the States accompanied the Emperor into the church, and on the 19th he went to hunt in Bavaria, and having spent thirteen days away, returned to Augsburg on the 1st of October. On the 6th the Cardinal de Madrutz arrived from Trent, and on the 21st came the King of the Romans. On the 23rd of November Maria, the widowed Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, made her entry into Augsburg ; the Emperor received her at the door of his chamber, being unable, from the effects of the gout, to go any further to meet her. On the 29th of November the Festival of the Golden Fleece was held.

On the 29th of December the city of Brunswick was

pardoned, and Magdeburg was placed under the Ban of the Empire.

1548.

On the 5th of January the Cardinal Madruz returned from Rome.

On the 6th the Emperor, according to custom, offered at the high mass gold, frankincense and myrrh, which were carried after him by the Elector of Brandenburg, the Palatine, and the Archduke Maximilian, instead of the Bohemian Elector. On the 14th, at the Diet, the Archduke, in the name of the Emperor, declared to the Assembly, in an opening speech, the reason of their convocation.

After him the Cardinal of Trent spoke, and gave an account of his mission to the Papal Court. The Secretary, Obernberg, then read out loud the Imperial instructions.

After this the Archduke resumed his speech, and said, that, as the Pope did not intend to transfer the Council to Trent, the Emperor was determined to lay down certain measures for the restoration of peace in Germany, until the Pope should, in an efficacious manner, remove the existing difficulties.

On the 20th the Duke of Alva travelled by post through Genoa to Spain.

On the 24th of February the ceremony of the investiture of the Elector Maurice of Saxony took place.

On the 1st of April the Emperor recommenced his draughts of the infusion of Indian bark.

On the 8th of May the King of Tunis came to Augs-

burg, whose own son had caused his eyes to be put out, and driven him out of the country.

On the 15th, the so-called "Interim" was delivered to the Diet, being written in the German and Latin languages.

A newly-arrived Nuncio also had an audience.

On the 25th the Elector Maurice returned home. On the last of May the procession of the Corpus-Christi took place, and was conducted by the Cardinal of Augsburg, who carried the Venerabile. On his right hand walked the Elector Palatine, and on the left the Elector of Brandenburg; the canopy was carried by the Archduke Maximilian, and the Dukes of Bavaria, Brunswick, and Würtemberg. On the 11th of June the Archduke travelled to Spain, to marry the Imperial Princess, and to remain there as Governor during the absence of the Emperor. On this day also an important meeting of the Diet took place. On the last of June the Cardinal of Augsburg proposed a treaty to the States, the form of which was read aloud by a secretary, and, after another short speech from the Cardinal, the Diet was dissolved.

On the 2nd of July the King of the Romans set out for Austria. On the 12th the Emperor went from Augsburg to Neuhof, on the 13th and 14th he enjoyed the pleasures of the chase near Gasingen, and arrived at Munich on the 15th.

On the 16th he went out hunting with the Court of Bavaria, and likewise on the 17th and 18th. On the 19th he took his leave, presented the ladies with costly

rings, and went on to Wetaberg. On the 20th to Bruck, and on the 23rd to Augsburg. On the 2nd of August the Emperor assembled the *bourgeoisie* of Augsburg, and re-organized it. The trial between Hesse and Nassau on the subject of Katzenellenbogen was also decided here. On the 13th of August the Emperor went from Augsburg to Günzburg, and on the 14th to Ulm. On the 20th he went from Ulm to Geislingen, on the 21st to Göppingen, on the 22nd to Esslingen, on the 23rd he passed between Stuttgart and Canstadt to Faningen. On the 24th he was at Britta, on the 25th at Bruchsal, and on the 26th in the town of Crevensee in the Palatinate. On the 1st of September he was at Spires, on the 3rd at Worms, on the 4th at Oppenheim, and on the 5th at Mayence, where His Majesty embarked on board a vessel, in which he spent the night of the 6th.

On the 7th he was at Bonn, on the 8th at Cologne, on the 10th at Juliers, on the 11th at Bergen, on the 12th at Maestricht, on the 13th at Holy Cross, on the 14th at Tirlemont, on the 15th and 16th at Louvain, on the 17th and 18th at Verre, on the 19th, 20th and 21st at Grünenthal, and on the 22nd of September at Brussels. On the 19th of October Duke Adolph of Holstein, brother to the King of Denmark, entered the Imperial service at Brussels. On the 25th the Assembly of the States of the Low Countries met.

On the 1st of November the Emperor was attacked by the gout. On the 6th the Stadholderinn travelled to Camerich to meet the Queen of France, who arrived on

the 2nd of December. On the 23rd died Maximilian von Buren, of the house of Egmont.

On the 27th the necessary authority to ratify the "Interim" was received from Rome.

1549.

On the 5th of January the Emperor gave the Legates an audience on the above-mentioned subject, and complained greatly of the slowness of their journey, and of the delay of the Papal decision in so important an affair.

On the 24th of February the Emperor offered at the Mass fifty pieces of gold, according to the number of his years, as he was in the habit of doing on his birth-day.

On the 1st of May he re-commenced the cure with the infusion of bark, which lasted till the 28th.

On the 1st of April the Infante, Don Philip, arrived at Brussels and threw himself at his father's feet.

Among his followers were, the Cardinal de Trent (*son conducteur*) the Margrave Albert de Brandenburg, the Prince de Piémont, the Duke of Alva, d'Asioli de Sesse, the Marquis de Pescara, and the Admiral de Castile. On the 2nd the Marquis d'Arscot died.

On the 4th of June the heir-apparent made his entry into Louvain, and on the 5th received homage as successor to the Dukedom of Brabant. In the evening the Emperor also came to Louvain, and on the 8th returned to Brussels, where the Prince likewise made his entry. On the 14th the Emperor was at Alost, and on the 15th at Ghent.

On the 19th the Emperor went by a new canal to the sea, and passed the night at Loue; on the 21st he was at Madegem, on the 22nd at Bruges, on the 26th at Wimmenthal, on the 27th at Langenmarkt, on the 28th at Yprés. On the 29th, at noon, at Ronsbrugg, and at night at Berg. On the 30th, at noon, he came to Dunkirk, and at night to Gravelingen.

On the 3rd of July he came, at noon, to Lüneburg, and at night to St. Omer. On the 2nd of August the Emperor went from St. Omer to Arras, on the 3rd to Bethune, on the 4th to Fourne, on the 5th and 6th to Lille, and on the 7th to Dornich, where the Prince made his entry. On the 9th he was at Davai, and on the 10th at Arras, where the Prince also made his entry. On the 13th he was at Bapann, and on the 14th at Camerich, where, on the 15th, he surveyed the Castle. On the 16th he was at Valenciennes, where the entry was made on the 17th, and on this day he went to Quesnoy, on the 18th to Avennes, on the 19th to Chimay, on the 20th to Marienburg, on the 21st to Beaumont, and on the 22nd to Bingen. Here he found the Queen, his sister; and the Stadholderinn received him and his whole suite in a set of most magnificent apartments, hung with tapestry of her own and her ladies' work, and entertained them for the space of nine days, with ingeniously devised tournaments and costly banquets.

On the 31st the Court was at Mons, where the Prince made his entry on the 1st of September.

On the 2nd the Emperor went to Mariemont, a tasteful country-house, built by the Queen Stadholderinn. On

the 3rd he went to Gemappe, on the 4th to Brienne la Luhe, and on the 5th to Brussels. On the 6th the Emperor was, at noon, at Grunenthal, and at night at Bure, while the Prince held his entry into Mechlin.

On the 11th of September the Emperor came to Antwerp, where, on the 12th, the Prince was done homage to as his successor, and where, on the ensuing days, many distinguished festivities took place. On the 17th his Majesty went to Mechlin, and on the 30th returned to Brussels, where he spent the remainder of the year.

### 1550.

On the 17th of February the Emperor received intelligence that the Cardinal de Monte had, on the 7th instant, been elected Pope, under the name of Julius III.; his predecessor, Pope Paul, having died on the 10th of November, of the former year.

On the 28th his Majesty sent el Commendator Major Don Louis de Fuingier to testify his obedience.

On the 1st of March Don Pedro de Toledo arrived as Minister from the new Pope.

On the 31st of May the Emperor took leave of the Queen, his sister, and left Brussels for Germany, to be present at the Diet. The Emperor, while passing on horseback through the principal square, turned round to take an affectionate leave of the people, strongly giving vent to his emotion and sorrow.

That night the Emperor and the Prince arrived at

Louvain. On the 2nd of June they came to St. Croy, on the 3rd to Tongerloo, on the lake of Liege, and on the 4th to Maestricht, where the Prince was done homage to.

On the 7th the Emperor reached Aix-la-Chapelle, on the 8th was at Gilch, and on the 9th Cologne, where the Elector came to meet him.

On the 14th he arrived at Bonn on the Rhine, on the 15th at Andernach, on the 16th at Coblenz, where he was received by the Elector of Treves, on the 17th at Boppard, on the 18th at Bacharach, and on the 19th at Mayence, where the Elector entertained him at his house. On the 21st he reached Oppenheim and there received intelligence that Doria had taken from the Turks a place called Monasterio, and was sailing towards Africa. On the 22nd he went to Worms, and on the 23rd to Spires, where on the 24th the Elector Palatine and the Bishop of Strasburg came to the Emperor. On the 25th his Majesty indulged in the pleasures of the chase.

On the 27th he proceeded to Bretten across the Rhine, on the 28th to Giengen, a town of Wurtemberg, where the Duke had an audience, on the 29th to Esslingen, and on the 30th to Göppingen.

On the 1st of July he came to Geislingen, on the 2nd to Ulm, on the 4th to Giengen, on the 5th to Nördlingen, on the 6th to Donauwerth, on the 7th to Westendorf, and on the 8th to Augsburg, which place the King of the Romans had reached before him. On the 26th of July the Diet was opened. On the 29th the Emperor went through Bruck to Munich, and returned to Augs-

burg on the 8th of August, where the Pope's Nuncio had an audience on the 11th.

On the 18th of August the States returned their answer to the propositions laid before them.

On the 21st M. de Granvelle died, and his body was privately conveyed to Besançon, his native place.

On the 7th of September the Emperor replied to the answer of the States.

On the 10th of October the Stadholderinn came to Augsburg, and left it again on the 26th.

On the 17th the Emperor was informed that seventeen ships had landed at Seville, containing three millions of ducats for himself, and three millions more for some private individuals.

On the same day the States made their representations on his Majesty's reply to them.

The Cardinal of Trent also set out for Genoa to meet the Archduke Maximilian, who was returning alone from Spain.

In the course of this month (October) the Emperor sent his herald, "Toison d'Or" to Nancy, to bring from thence the remains of his ancestor Charles, Duke of Burgundy, and to deposit them at Luxemburg by the side of Henry, King of Bohemia. On the 24th the Duchess of Lorraine took leave of his Majesty.

On the 12th the Emperor answered the rejoinder of the States. On the 15th the Emperor received intelligence from Rome that a General Council would be held at Trent in the month of May, 1551. On the 10th of December the Archduke Ferdinand arrived from Prague.

Ever since the middle of September the Emperor had often been unwell, and still continued to feel the effects of the gout in the following months.

### 1551.

On the 1st of January the Stadholderinn arrived at Augsburg from the Netherlands, accompanied by the Bishop of Camerich, and three ladies from Lins. On the 5th the States returned their fourth answer, which being replied to by the Emperor, they at last gave out their final determination on the 9th.

On the 8th of February some tournaments were held, in which the Prince of Spain and the Archduke Ferdinand took part.

On the 14th the dissolution of the Diet took place, and his Majesty's speech was read in part by the Cardinal of Augsburg, and then finished by a secretary.

On the 7th of March the Infante Don Philip received the fiefs of the empire, as did his august father, without any particular specification; took the required oath, and kissed the hilt of the Emperor's sword.

On the 17th Duke Christopher of Würtemberg had an audience, and begged that his affairs with the King of the Romans might be settled in the most amicable manner possible, without conforming too strictly to what absolute right might require.

On the 7th of April the Stadholderinn returned to the Netherlands, after having arranged all her family affairs.

On the 25th of May the Infante Don Philip returned to Spain.

On the 29th the Emperor, who had not been out since the 11th of January, joined in the chase, and at night returned to Augsburg.

On the 25th of May he also made a little excursion to Munich, but on his return from thence he spent the remainder of the month at Augsburg.

THE END.

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